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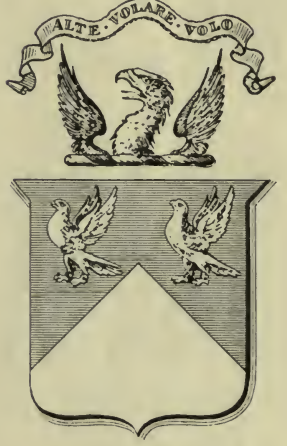

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THE CHINESE WAR.

"First, we went ten days' journey to see the city of Nanquin, a city well worth seeing. They say it has a million of people in it, which, however, I do not believe. It is regularly built, the streets all exactly straight, and cross one another in direct lines, which gives the figure of it great advantage. What are their buildings to the palaces and royal buildings of Europe? What their trade to the universal commerce of England, Holland, France, and Spain? What their cities to ours, for wealth, strength, gaiety of apparel, rich furniture, and infinite variety? What are their ports supplied with,—a few junks and barques, to our navigation, our merchants' fleets, our large and powerful navies? Our city of London has more trade than all their mighty empire. One English, or Dutch, or French man-of-war, of eighty guns, would fight with and destroy all the shipping of China. But the greatness of their wealth, their trade, the power of their government, and strength of their armies, is surprising to us; because, as I have said, considering them as a barbarous nation of Pagans, little better than savages, we did not expect such things among them; and this, indeed, is the advantage with which all their greatness and power is represented to us; otherwise it is in itself nothing at all. For, as I have said of their ships, so may be said of their armies and troops; all the forces of their empire, though they were to bring two millions of men into the field together, would be able to do nothing but ruin the country and starve themselves. If they were to besiege a strong town in Flanders, or fight a disciplined army, one line of German cuirassiers, or French cavalry, would overthrow all the horse of China; a million of their foot could not stand before one embattled body of our infantry, posted so as not to be surrounded, though they were not above a thousand in number; nay, I do not boast if I say that thirty thousand German or English foot, and three thousand French horse, would fairly beat all the forces of China. And so of our fortified towns, and of the art of our engineers in assaulting and defending towns: there is not a fortified town in China could hold out one month against the batteries and attacks of a European army; and, at the same time, all the armies of China could never take such a town as Dunkirk, provided it was not starved, no, not in a ten years' siege. They have fire-arms, it is true, but they are awkward, clumsy, and uncertain in going off; they have powder, but it is of no strength; they have neither discipline in the field, exercise to their arms, skill to attack, nor temper to retreat; and therefore, I must confess, it seemed strange to me, when I came home, and heard our people say such fine things of the power, riches, glory, magnificence, and trade of the Chinese, because I saw and knew that they were a contemptible herd, or crowd of ignorant, sordid slaves, subjected to a government qualified only to rule such a people." — De Foe, *written about the year* 1720.

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HONG KONG.

THE

CHINESE WAR:

AN ACCOUNT OF ALL

THE OPERATIONS OF THE BRITISH FORCES

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT

TO THE TREATY OF NANKING.

BY

LIEUTENANT JOHN OUCHTERLONY, F.G.S.

OF THE MADRAS ENGINEERS;

LATE ACTING ENGINEER AT THE NEW SETTLEMENT OF HONG-KONG.

With Fifty-three Illustrations,

FROM ORIGINAL DRAWINGS BY THE AUTHOR.

LONDON

SAUNDERS AND OTLEY, CONDUIT STREET.

1844.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

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HENRY MORSE STEPHENS

TO

MAJOR-GENERAL PASLEY,

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF RAILROADS, &c. &c.

IN TESTIMONY OF RESPECT

FOR HIS HIGH PROFESSIONAL CHARACTER AND ATTAINMENTS,

AND OF GRATEFUL ATTACHMENT,

This Work

IS, BY PERMISSION, INSCRIBED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

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In a work of the description here attempted, it would be vain to endeavour to condense within the limits of the small space which could be devoted to it, anything like a detailed account of the various events (extending over a period of several years) which combined to produce, by an imperceptible but sure progression, that crisis in our political relations with the empire of China which rendered inevitable the war whose events form the subject of the following pages. Of those among whom the work is likely to find readers, there can be but few who have not been interested with details so important, sufficiently to induce them to follow

throughout their course the more remarkable occurrences which have distinguished a contest, the important advantages of whose result have tended to obscure the record of the unhappy events in which it originated; and to the small minority to whom the consideration of the original bearing and position of the question may be in a great measure new, it would be scarcely practicable to convey an adequate idea of its true nature, without referring to a period of such distant date, as might involve dissertation ill suited to the unpretending character of a work intended simply to supply a continuous and connected narrative, by which the accounts of events, furnished at the various periods of their occurrence, may be rendered coherent and intelligible. Hence it will only be necessary to recapitulate succinctly the most remarkable events that occurred in the latter part of the year 1838, and during 1839—events which led immediately to the formation of the first armament directed by the British Government against the shores of China, the author's remarks being restricted to such a brief retrospective summary as may suffice to connect the details of the war with the train of causes by which it was produced.

Our relations with the empire, during the continuance of the chartered privileges of the East India Company, were generally preserved upon a tolerably comfortable footing by the prudent and wary conduct of the "Select Committee of Supercargoes," established at Canton by the East India Company, who scrupulously guarded against any infraction of the laws and regulations, however arbitrary, of the Chinese authorities; but disputes and difficulties did sometimes arise, notwithstanding all the precautions taken, and occasional stoppages of the trade ensued, rendering it necessary to call in the assistance of the commanders of any British men-of-war cruising in the China seas. The great confidence, however, reposed by the Hong merchants * and the agents of the East India Company in each other, as well as the great importance of the trade to both parties, made these differences generally easy of accommodation. The English were strictly prohibited from entering within the city walls, and were permitted to reside only in factories (Hongs) on

* Hong merchants, or Co-Hong, being Chinese merchants, licensed by government, through whom alone the English were allowed to trade.

the bank of the river. During the lengthened period of British intercourse, all their prejudices had been studiously respected, and the Chinese had been left to their own belief that we did in reality pay them homage, and sue with humility for such intercourse as they would permit us to hold with them. The mercantile profession is not in high estimation among the Chinese, and hence it is not to be wondered at that the subdued tone which we had maintained towards them should have brought them to regard us in the light of an inferior people. The change from the East India Company's submissive style to the assertion of certain rights in commerce, made by the representative of the British Government, was therefore a matter not easily to be understood by the nation whose pride, the offspring of ignorance and despotic government, had been fostered for so long a period. The balance of trade was, for some time, on the side of the Chinese, who received it in dollars from the East India Company; but by degrees the introduction of British manufactures, metals, cotton from India, and lastly opium, to a very considerable extent, turned the tide in our favour, and then the dollars and Sycee silver (the

produce of their own country) began to ooze out in formidable quantities. The attention of the Imperial Cabinet being called to this national evil, orders were given to stop entirely the trade in opium, as that with which the empire could most safely and easily dispense. The importation of this article, about half a century ago, was inconsiderable, extending to not more than 1000 chests, but it had reached the immense quantity of 40,000 chests; and as the people of all the southern portion of the empire were known to be all, more or less, addicted to the use of the drug, in smoking chiefly, it was an evil of gigantic magnitude. It was first introduced into China as a medical drug, under a fixed duty, and though hindrances were opposed from time to time by the Chinese authorities, the trade continued to thrive until 1820, when a proclamation was issued against it. It having by this time become exceedingly profitable to the British mercantile community, very fast sailing vessels (clippers) having been built expressly for its transport from India, and a very large capital being engaged in it, every effort was used to prevent its stoppage, and an anchorage for the opium vessels was resorted

to, at a greater distance from the immediate power of the mandarins. Here the vessels were visited regularly and openly by Chinese boats, who bought in, paid for, and carried away, the opium; and the commanders of the Chinese war-junks, who occasionally made mock demonstrations against the vessels at the anchorages, managed to establish with the ship-masters a regular system of bribery, under which several dollars per chest were reserved for and paid over to them. Thus the nominally proscribed traffic continued to flourish, Chinese of all ranks taking an active part in it; and the export of specie continuing to increase, the anxious attention of the imperial cabinet was directed to its suppression. Among the great councillors of the state, there were some who recommended the legalization of a trade in the article by barter against merchandize only; but the advocates of total prohibition prevailed, and towards the end of the year 1837, proclamations were issued, directing the foreign ships to leave the coast, and the foreign merchants to repair from Canton to Macao. Delays were, however, permitted by the governor of Canton, who was himself well known to be extensively

interested in the opium trade; but the position of the British community was very critical, and the restrictions on their entire trade very irksome, throughout the year 1838. A mandarin of high reputation, as an able administrator of public affairs, named Lin, had been empowered by an imperial commission to act as governor of the Kwang-tung (Canton) and adjacent provinces, and to adopt such coercive measures as would, it was believed, (upon his assurance,) lead to the effectual suppression of the opium trade.

The first overt act was on the 3rd December, 1838, when some opium was seized by the police, upon the persons of some Chinese labourers, (coolies,) who were carrying it from the water-side to the factories, on account of Mr. Innes, a merchant there. The coolies were imprisoned, and the Hong merchants, instigated by the authorities, at once suspended the entire British trade, with a threat that it should not be restored until Mr. Innes, the offending party, had quitted Canton, an alternative which that gentleman was, on the 15th December, constrained to adopt. The trade, however, continued interrupted until the 1st of the succeed-

ing month, and in the meantime much popular indignation was excited against the foreign residents in the factories, by the determination with which they resisted an insulting attempt of the city authorities to execute, in the open square, before the factories, a Chinese trader, who had been convicted of the offence of selling opium. This attempt was frustrated, but a riot ensued; the foreigners were hemmed in by the mob for many hours, and a detachment of Chinese troops was at length sent to quell the disturbance.

The chief superintendent of British trade in China, Captain Elliot, who had succeeded the late lamented Lord Napier in that capacity, had struck the British flag, and removed from Canton some time before, in consequence of a difficulty in the manner and style of his communications with the governor of the province, the latter refusing to receive such as the superintendent had been directed by his government to make; and as soon as he was informed of the state of affairs at Canton, he came up with a flotilla of armed boats, furnished by the merchant-vessels then lying at Whampoa. On the following day, Captain Elliot assembled the

foreign residents, and having explained to them the view which he took of the position of affairs, he issued a notice, directing that all British-owned vessels engaged in the forbidden traffic should drop down the river, beyond the Bogue, before the expiration of three days, from the date of the said notice.

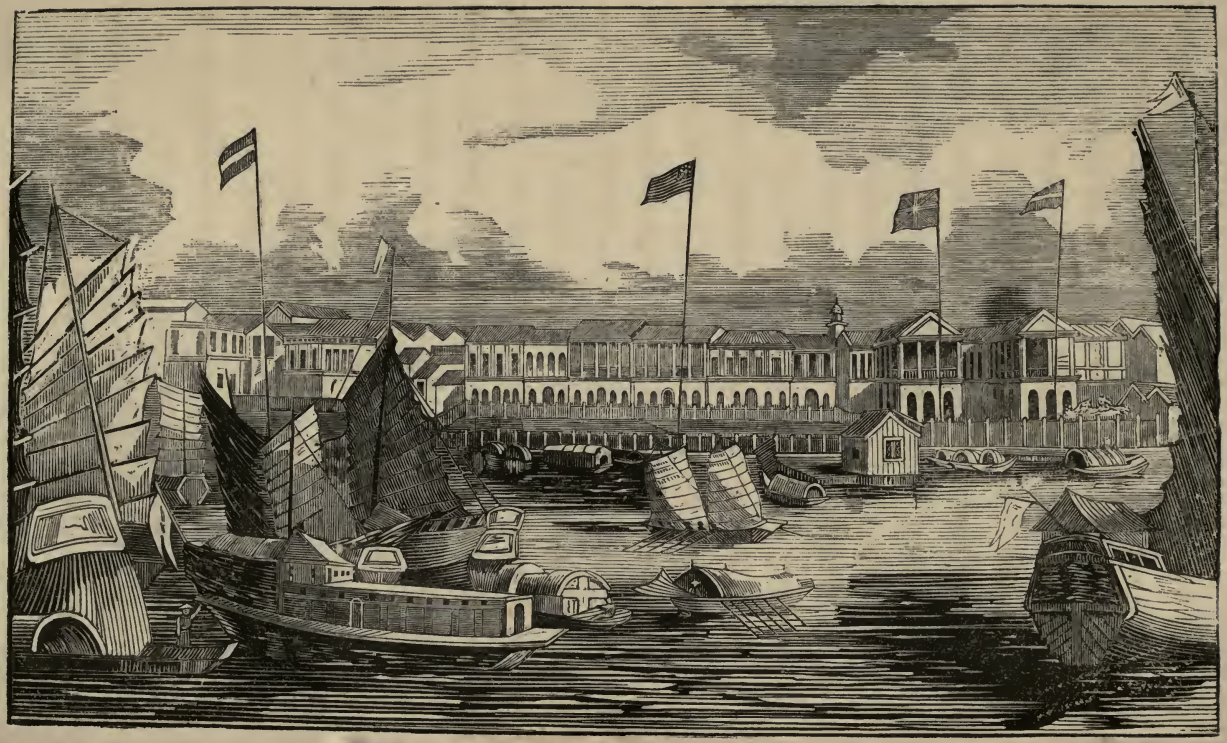
On the 1st January, 1839, the trade was once more resumed, and on the 3rd an edict of the Emperor was made public, appointing Lin to proceed to Canton, for the express purpose of stopping for ever the traffic in opium, which had become so obnoxious to the imperial cabinet.

Proclamations and edicts shortly followed, from the governor of Canton, exhorting the people to forsake the evil practice which had so enslaved their minds, and dictating terms for bonds, to be in future executed by the merchants regarding vessels arriving from beyond the Bogue, to guard against the entrance of opium craft into the Chinese waters, from which the governor demanded that all ships, of whatever class, engaged in any way in the transport of the article, should be at once removed—a suspension of all trade being, as usual, the penalty of non-compliance. The appointment of a special

commissioner by the emperor, for the purpose of investigating affairs connected with the opium traffic, and of the foreign trade in general, was announced in one of these documents, dated 23rd January, 1839, in which the near approach of Lin was alluded to as "a tender and earnest warning," to deter the foreigners from persevering in the illegal practices which had aroused the indignation of his celestial Majesty, under penalty of the stoppage for ever of their trade with the great empire—a calamity which, by depriving them of the tea and rhubarb of the central flowery land, must, in the opinion of the governor Tang, remove from them the main support and comfort of their lives.

Shortly after the publication of this edict, incidents indicative of the approaching storm became frequent; the passage of boats on the river was impeded, the tone assumed in the city became insolent and offensive, and the back doors in the factories were blocked up by order of the Governor, under pretence of their affording facilities for smuggling the forbidden drug into the houses of the suburbs.

On the 26th of February, the police succeeded, in a hurried manner, in putting to death,



THE FACTORIES AT CANTON.

by strangulation, a Chinese accused of opium dealing, before the windows of the Hongs occupied by the foreign merchants, on which gross outrage the flags at all the consulates were instantly struck, and H. M. S. Larne, at that time the only British man-of-war in the Chinese waters, and on the point of departure for India, was detained by Captain Elliot at the urgent request of the merchants.

On the 10th of March, Commissioner Lin made his public entry into the city, and after interviews with the principal municipal authorities, and a personal investigation into the accounts and records of the Hoppo and Hong merchants, he signified to the Kwang-chow-foo, or chief justiciary and comptroller, that the arrest of several individuals named in a proclamation which he issued, and who had become notorious for the extent of their dealings with the merchants as opium brokers, was deemed necessary; he made himself acquainted with the details of the traffic as it then existed in the Canton waters, and then issued two proclamations, in which he specially informed foreigners, that he had determined to put down the traffic altogether, and requiring that all opium on board ships should

be given up to his officers, and that the foreigners should, jointly and severally, enter into a bond by which the penalty of death should be incurred by any person or persons who should hereafter attempt to import the forbidden article. Three days only were allowed for consideration and for the preparation of the documents, and the Imperial Commissioner promised, on behalf of his sovereign, entire forgetfulness of all past offences, and a permanent restoration of the trade under the favourable circumstances which formerly existed.

At this time Captain Elliot was absent in Macao, and the Hong merchants in consequence communicated the substance of the orders they had received from Lin to the chairman of the Canton Chamber of Commerce, upon which body they endeavoured to impress the belief that, in the event of non-compliance with the terms proposed by his excellency, more than one of the Hong merchants would be sacrificed to his intense and implacable indignation.

On the 19th March the summons to surrender the opium was followed up by a notification from Yu, the Hoppo or customs magistrate, that during the existing state of affairs it was the

pleasure of Lin that passports should not be granted for foreigners either to proceed to Macao or to quit the boundary of the factories; while troops were observed on the river, and in the suburb adjoining. In this alarming situation the merchants did not, however, evince any undue haste or trepidation, but replied in a firm tone, that, while they disclaimed all desire for any further connexion with the opium trade, they required time for calm deliberation on so important a question, expressing a hope that the report of a committee, which had been appointed to take it into consideration, would not be delayed beyond a week.

An attempt was now made by Lin to obtain possession of the person of Mr. Launcelot Dent, a British merchant at Canton, by means of an invitation to a conference within the hitherto impassable city gates, conveyed to him through the Hong merchants, from accepting which he was dissuaded by his friends.

After having directed all British vessels to rendezvous at Hong-Kong, and prepare to resist every act of aggression on the part of the Chinese, Captain Elliot arrived in Canton on the 24th March, and establishing himself in the

British factory, he hoisted the ensign upon the flag-staff before it, and conducted Mr. Dent from his own abode to the protection of the consular dwelling. Captain Elliot arrived at the factory-jetty in a boat of H. M. S. Larne, which had scarcely touched the stairs, when a vast number of Chinese armed boats closed round the water entrances of the factories, and forming three distinct lines across the river, effectually excluded their occupants from all communication with their friends outside. On the same day, the whole of the Chinese servants attached to the factories were withdrawn by order of the municipal authorities, and fresh provisions, of which an abundant supply had been hitherto daily obtainable, ceased to appear within the enclosure of the foreign Hongs. In the evening, a general meeting of all foreigners was convened by Captain Elliot, at which he informed them, that passports had been already solicited for Her Britannic Majesty's subjects, and recommended preparations to be made for the immediate removal of books and property on board the vessels then lying at Whampoa, announcing at the same time, that he had received assurances from the Portuguese government at

Macao, of protection to all British subjects, so long as the traffic pursued by them, within the limits of that settlement, should not be at variance with the laws of the Chinese empire.

The courage of the British community was much strengthened by this energetic measure; but what was their consternation when, early on the morning of the 27th, a notice issued from the office of the chief superintendent, calling upon them all to surrender forthwith, for the service of the Crown of England, all the opium under their control, under penalty of the withdrawal of the responsibility of her Majesty's government! After some demur, this hard alternative was submitted to, and returns were sent in to Captain Elliot of the prodigious amount of 20,280 chests, which they were prepared to surrender, according to the terms of the superintendent's notice; which being communicated to the imperial commissioner, arrangements were made by the latter without delay, for its reception at Chunhow, near Chuenpee, in the neighbourhood of the Bogue forts.

Lin now addressed himself to the other consuls, demanding the surrender of any opium

which merchants of their nations might hold in warehouses or in store-ships.

Mr. Johnston, the deputy-superintendent of British trade, proceeded to the Bogue, to inspect the delivery of the opium, and the disembarkation went on so rapidly, that by the 20th April, 1839 10,000 chests had been given up. Notwithstanding this, the imprisonment of the foreign merchants continued, the military guards were retained around the factories, and no communication was allowed by passage-boats between Canton and the outer anchorages—in direct violation of the agreement; but the native servants had been permitted to return.

Lin continued to make urgent and insolent demands for the bond before spoken of, and Captain Elliot, indignant at the breach of good faith respecting the passage-boats, sent instructions to Mr. Johnston to discontinue the delivery of the opium. This had the desired effect; and on the 4th May, an edict was promulgated by the Kwang-chow-foo, giving permission for the registered and licensed passage-boats to resume their voyages, and for the foreigners to take their departure from Canton, except sixteen of the principal British and Parsee merchants, who were or-

dered to be detained until the delivery of the whole quantity of opium stipulated for should be completed. The trade was at the same time nominally opened, and on the 5th, the Kwang-chow-foo, in person, broke up the line of circumvallation by guards and boats, which had been drawn round the factories; but the activity of the Chinese authorities at the Bogue, in the construction of new fortifications, and of booms and chains for the manifest closing of the passage, shewed that the vigorous mind of Lin was evidently preparing for ulterior proceedings.

On the 18th, Lin issued a further edict, addressed to the British and Dutch superintendents of trade, to the effect that the penalty of death would be incurred by any parties who should hereafter engage, either directly or indirectly, in the introduction of opium into the empire, and by the crews of vessels employed for that object, concluding with the plausible insinuation that China needed no commercial intercourse with foreigners, and that all were now at liberty to return to their own countries, and to do there what seemed best to them.

On the receipt of this communication, Captain Elliot lost no time in pointing out to the British

residents that, under existing circumstances, Canton could not any longer be considered a place in which they could reside with either safety or honour, and he warned all those who should choose to abide by the result of events, that the British government would consider that they assented to the reasonableness of the law which had been promulgated by the Chinese authorities.

On the 21st May, the surrender of the 20,283 chests of opium being completed, the superintendent issued a further notice to H. B. Majesty's subjects, warning them against the introduction of vessels or property of any description within the waters of Canton, and exhorting them not to delay their departure from the factories after his own withdrawal.

On the 23rd Captain Elliot finally quitted Canton, and proceeded to Macao, whence he dispatched, on the 30th, the Ariel (clipper) to Suez, with a statement of the occurrences, and the extraordinary and calamitous proceedings of the past month.

MACAO.

CHAPTER II.

Destruction of the opium—Affray between English sailors and the Chinese—Death of Lin Weihe—Persecution of the English by Lin—Outrage perpetrated upon the crew of the Black Joke—Arrival of the Volage—Blockade of Canton threatened—Successful attack upon some war junks—The Bilbaino—Portuguese edict—Arrival of the Hyacinth—Attack and defeat of the junks.

The British community, with a few exceptions, now abandoned Canton, and removed, with their books and moveable property, to Macao, where their business establishments were for the time fixed; and the Canton newspaper-presses were also erected, and the issues made at that settlement.

In the meantime the vast quantity of opium accumulated at Chunhow, estimated to be worth not less than 2,500,000*l.* sterling, was ordered by Lin, in pursuance of a decree from the emperor, to be destroyed by decomposition, in presence of any foreigners who might choose to witness this act of the imperial retribution, and

the high commissioner himself paid a visit to the scene of destruction, to inspect and scrutinize the arrangements, and to prevent fraud and wilful neglect.

An idea prevailed that a considerable portion was preserved, and appropriated, through the cupidity of the mandarins; but from the statement of Mr. King, consul of the United States in China, who visited Chunhow, it would appear that little if any escaped.

The spacious and sheltered harbour of Hong Kong became now more than ever the chief resort of the British and foreign vessels in the Chinese waters, the anchorage being the safest and most commodious known in the neighbourhood of the Canton river, and supplies of live stock and vegetables being readily obtainable even in seasons of difficulty, owing to its distance from any military station. The hostility, however, which Lin appeared determined to carry out against the English was here shortly displayed, in the occupation of the promontory of Cow-loon, (which forms the northern boundary of the harbour,) by considerable bodies of troops, and by the erection of two powerful batteries in positions which commanded the eastern anchorage.

The assemblage of so many ships at one spot, and the comparative idleness of their crews, led to excursions on shore, and of course to riotous proceedings; and it happened unfortunately that on the 7th July some sailors entered a village to procure spirits, and an affray occurred in which a Chinese, named Lin Weihe, received injuries which caused his death in a few hours. The sailors were also severely handled, and the ring-leaders, being arrested by order of Captain Elliot, were brought to trial before a grand jury, made up from the British community, found guilty of manslaughter, and sentenced to be transported to England, and there imprisoned for various periods.*

At Macao measures were speedily taken by the Chinese authorities to distress and annoy the British refugees, by intercepting the supplies of food from the main land, upon which the Portuguese settlement exclusively depends, and by compelling all the Chinese servants in the

* On the arrival of these men in England, they were liberated by order of government, the authority vested in Captain Elliot not being deemed sufficient to warrant the exercise of a control so serious over the person and liberty of the subject.

employ of the British to quit their houses under pain of severe punishment.

During this period of anxiety and danger, a provisional chamber of commerce was formed to concert measures for the common safety, and in its proceedings the greatest fortitude and energy were displayed. By the 17th August every Chinese servant had disappeared, and placards, in large letters, were then carried through the streets and market-places, by Chinese police-soldiers, forbidding any person whatever to supply food to the English. On the 20th, the Chinese commissioner intimated to the Portuguese governor, that he should require the latter to withdraw from British families all servants who were subjects of the Queen of Portugal; and Captain Elliot, perceiving thereby that the continued residence of the British in Macao would compromise the Portuguese with the Chinese authorities, issued a public notice on the 21st, of his intention to leave Macao on the 23rd, and recommending her Britannic Majesty's subjects to accompany him to Hong Kong.

It may be here remarked that, during this active persecution of the English, the consul of

the United States, together with all the merchants of that country, were residing in safety at Canton, and suffered no molestation whatever by the authorities, although, by the manner in which their edicts and demands had been ostensibly complied with, the Americans had in no respect a higher claim upon their consideration than the British.

On the 24th, a daring and disgraceful outrage was perpetrated upon the crew of a small schooner called the Black Joke, which plied between Macao and Hong Kong as a passage-boat; a Mr. Moss and several lascars, British subjects, having been desperately piked and hacked, and a few killed by a number of Chinese, who boarded the vessel from two or three junks and row-boats, and plundered the cargo, which consisted of baggage and effects. It does not appear likely that this atrocity was committed with the connivance of the government; but the state of the times, and the blood-thirsty disposition which had been already manifested towards them, induced the British residents to attach some importance to the deed as a warning of the storm which was about to burst forth. During the last few days of their sojourn at Macao, the difficulty of pro-

curing the necessaries of life had been very great, and on the 25th rumours were afloat that a body of Chinese troops was distributed through the town, prepared for an attack upon the houses occupied by the English, and to guard against this treachery the merchants armed themselves in the best manner they were able, and assembled on the Praya. The night, however, passed away in tranquillity, and on the following day the whole of the British community finally quitted the friendly but inefficient protection of their ancient ally, and proceeded, the greater part, to the harbour of Hong Kong, and a few to the anchorage east of Macao, called the Typa.

On the 30th H. M. S. Volage, commanded by Captain Smith, came into Macao roads, and immediately proceeded to Hong Kong, where Capt. Elliot (in the absence of any officer bearing Her Majesty's commission) had appointed Captain Douglas, of the Cambridge, formerly of the East India Company's maritime service, to the temporary command of the fleet at the anchorage, and had issued orders to the masters of all vessels in the bay to act in obedience to his directions, and in concert for the general safety.

A proclamation now appeared, dated 31st Au-

gust, in the joint names of Lin and Tang, the local governors of the province, in which, under pretext of "contumacy and stiff-necked presumption not to be surpassed," alleged against Captain Elliot in his refusal to deliver up the slayer of Lin Weihe at Cow-loon, he exhorted all the inhabitants of villages along or near the coast to purchase arms and weapons, and to fire upon and destroy or drive back the English whenever they were seen to approach their shores in search of food or water.

Immediately on receiving a translation of this atrocious document, Captain Elliot called upon Captain Smith to establish a blockade of the port of Canton; and accordingly, on the 11th of September, a public notice (which may be considered the first overt act by which a hostile relation with the imperial government was acknowledged) was issued by that officer of a restraint upon vessels seeking egress or ingress, and referring to the gross and inhuman orders of the Imperial commissioner to the inhabitants of the coast, and to the supposed capture or destruction of a boat's crew by the Chinese, as the cause.

A few days previous to this declaration, however, the harbour of Cow-loon had been made

the scene of the first appeal to arms which had sprung out of the prevailing excitement, Captain (now Sir James) Douglas having, with the boats of the Cambridge, which he had armed at his own expense at Singapore, co-operated with Captain Smith, with the Louisa cutter, and a squadron of boats, in a successful attack upon some war-junks, whose presence before the town of Cow-loon prevented the supply of provisions, which the inhabitants were not unwilling to furnish, from being brought off. The zeal displayed on this occasion by Captain Douglas won for him a special token of the approbation of Her Majesty.

About this time also a desperate outrage was committed upon a small brig sailing under Spanish colours, called the Bilbaino, while lying at anchor in the Typa, within three miles of the batteries of Macao; and although it was doubtless perpetrated under a misapprehension of her nation and character, yet it afforded strong evidence of the resolution with which the Imperial commissioner was disposed to act, and of the lawless and savage deeds which might be expected from the crews of the Chinese war-boats and other armed vessels while acting in accord-

ance with and under the shelter of his vindictive proclamations. The brig was set on fire, the mate and four seamen made prisoners, and the former was subjected to the disgrace of having a heavy chain put round his neck; the rest were put into a boat without oars or rudder, and suffered to drift away till taken in tow by a boat sent from the nearest Portuguese fort. The alleged cause of this act of violence, the suspicion that the vessel was English and contained opium, so alarmed the Portuguese authorities, that an edict of the senate of Macao was immediately issued, directing an armed vessel to cruise in the anchorage of the Typa, and prevent a similar fatal mistake by seizing and confiscating all vessels, of whatsoever nation, anchoring with opium on board—an empty threat, which was intended only to propitiate the imperial commissioner.

Affairs assumed an aspect somewhat more peaceful towards the end of September, and as it was found that the missing ship's boat had not been captured by the Chinese cruisers, although chased by them into the waters of Macao, the threatened blockade was not immediately enforced, and on the 24th Captain Elliot and Captain Smith had an interview at Macao with

the kunminfoo, or subprefect, (a Chinese functionary,) on the subject of conditions under which the trade might in future be carried on outside the river of Canton—viz., off Chuenpee, at Hong Kong, and Lintin.

Discussions continued to be held upon the subject at various times, which eventually led to the publication of a circular by Captain Elliot, announcing that he had accepted certain conditions proposed by Lin, "involving the opening of the British trade outside the port of Canton, and without any necessity of signing a bond of consent to the trial and capital punishment of the Queen's subjects by Chinese officers and forms of Chinese judicature;" but the pacific tendency of the notice was neutralized by a warning to all concerned in British ships in the Chinese waters, of the danger of entering the river before a declaration on his part that "such taking in" would be "safe in the premises."

Several American ships, and with them unhappily one under English colours, the Thomas Coutts, about this time entered the port of Canton, having signed the bond which had been substituted for the original form decreed by Lin in his celebrated proclamation of the 18th March

—an act which excited much indignation amongst the British community, as being likely to create obstacles to the final adjustment of the "outside trade" question on proper principles.

The effects of this step soon became apparent in the tone shortly afterwards adopted by the commissioner, and on the 26th October, Captain Elliot received a notice, that unless the murderer of Lin Weihe were immediately given up, and the bond signed for all the vessels seeking to pass up the river to Whampoa, not only should the entire trade be peremptorily stopped, but the British vessels and community should be driven from the Chinese coasts in three days, or their lives and property be sacrificed.

Early in September, H. M. S. Hyacinth had joined the Volage, and a communication was now made by the superintendent to Captain Smith, the senior naval officer, of the "shameless proceeding" of the Imperial functionaries, exhorting him to take steps "to prevent the future entrance of British shipping within the grasp of the government, to the incalculably serious aggravation of all these dangers and difficulties," which he at once did by a notice, warning all British ships of the danger of entering the Bogue.

On the 28th October, Captain Elliot requested Captain Smith to get the Volage and Hyacinth (corvettes) under weigh, and going himself on board the former, they proceeded to the Bogue, where a communication, or "chop," was sent on shore, to the effect that if any further attempt should be made to molest the British shipping lying peaceably at anchor, active measures of retaliation would be adopted.

The Chinese Admiral, Kwan, who commanded at the Bogue, replied by a request that the British armed vessels might be removed to a greater distance from the forts, when an answer to the "chop" should be speedily presented, which request being at once acceded to, the ships dropped down the river for two or three miles. On the following morning, the despatch was returned unopened and unnoticed, and shortly afterwards, twenty-nine war-junks were descried approaching the corvettes, evidently with a hostile intent, Admiral Kwan commanding in person among them. The result was a sharp action, which ended in the rout of the Chinese, of whose vessels three were sunk, and as many driven on shore, and either set fire to or rendered unserviceable.

Captain Elliot was present during the action, on board the Volage, and ordered it to cease, to spare the lives of the Chinese after their defeat had been accomplished.

Subsequently, the British ships were for the most part moved from Cowloon Bay to Toongkoo at the mouth of the river, the offensive demonstrations of the Chinese, by the erection of forts on the headland commanding the anchorage and the frequent drifting of fire-rafts upon the shipping, having rendered the former unsafe for the numerous assemblage of craft of all descriptions which was increasing daily.

The month of December passed away without the occurrence of any event of importance, and the close of the memorable year, 1839, found the two empires in a position of undisguised hostility.

CHAPTER III.

Desperate proceedings of Lin—The emperor doubts the veracity of his despatches—Unpopularity of the opium question in England—Assembling of the expedition—Death of Sir Frederick Maitland—Sir Gordon Bremer assumes the command.

Gloom had now overcast the political horizon in China, and affairs had, in the commencement of 1840 1841, approached that crisis whence no extrication could be hoped, consistent with the dignity and honour of the British nation, save by a display of that power which the ignorant Chinese had so long affected to despise. During the early part of the past year, the position of the British community remained nearly unchanged, very few individuals venturing to trust their persons within the reach of the Imperial commissioner, and the greater number residing on board merchant vessels at the anchorage of Toong-Koo, near the island of Lintin ; a few remained, with their families, at Macao ; and beyond the anxiety

attending the uncertainty of their position among the Portuguese, and that caused by the extensive gathering of troops in the vicinity of the settlement, their residence was not rendered so precarious and unpleasant as it had been found in the latter part of the preceding year. Early in January, appeared an edict of the Emperor, expressing his satisfaction at the stoppage of all British trade; and this gave public confirmation and approval of the extraordinary and almost desperate proceedings of Lin. The tone which he adopted was now undisguisedly hostile, defiance was hurled in his own edicts against the British, and a large bounty was set upon their heads, to excite the populace along the sea-coast to expel and destroy them as noxious reptiles. All thought of compensation for the opium surrendered, and for the serious losses which the merchants had suffered during the tumult at Canton, and their expulsion from the factories, was repudiated, as well as all idea of abandoning their right to seize and execute foreigners, whenever the savage laws of the empire should demand life for life. However, it would appear that about this time Lin had some misgivings as to the course which it was proposed to pursue, for

he ordered the release of Captain Gribble, who had been seized by the crew of a mandarin's boat, while on his passage from Macao to Canton, an outrage which Captain Smith, the senior naval officer on the station, had immediately resented, by moving her Majesty's ships towards the Bogue, and threatening a blockade of the port in the event of the prisoner's detention. It was also ascertained, that in his reply to the bombastic and absurd report sent by Lin of the engagement off Chuenpee, between the Volage and Hyacinth and a fleet of war-junks, in which Admiral Kwan was represented to have "reclined gracefully against the mast" of his flag-vessel, and directed the destruction of the tens of barbarians who fell on that day, the Emperor had made some remarks with the vermilion pencil, which strongly indicated his suspicion that matters had not been settled at Canton in the final and satisfactory manner which the high commissioner had represented. While affairs continued in this critical and unsatisfactory state in China, active measures were preparing in India for the hostile attitude which the unbearable and despotic conduct of the Chinese government had rendered indispensable. Early

in the year, orders were received from England by the Governor-General of India, to organize a small but efficient force for service on the coast of China, and to prepare the transports for its conveyance, to start from Calcutta and Madras as soon as the verge of the northerly monsoon should approach. An order in council was also issued, declaring an embargo on all Chinese vessels, and directing reprisals to be made in the seas of China, while at the same time a royal commission was intrusted to Rear-Admiral Elliot, C.B., as chief, and to Captain Elliot, R.N., as second, for the purpose of making a communication to the imperial government regarding the differences and difficulties which had led to the existing unhappy state of public affairs in the southern districts of the empire.

The novel war which was thus in a measure proclaimed was not very popular in England, since there were many who could not divest their minds of the erroneous idea that it was undertaken to enforce upon the Chinese the continuance of a traffic whose tendency upon the morals and welfare of the people was of the most pernicious kind, and that it was a domineering and disgraceful attempt to compel the importation of

an article strictly forbidden by their own laws; and further, that the sordid motives which had influenced the British government to appeal to arms in support of the unrighteous cause of the opium dealers, ought to be held in abhorrence as wholly unworthy of that standard which was now about to be unfurled against a race whose sole offence was a desire to maintain their own institutions, and to withdraw from all intercourse with a people who had spared no exertion to overturn and set them at defiance.

But plausible as this view of the subject may appear, and just as it was deemed by many high-minded individuals, who ranked themselves against the prosecution of the so styled "opium war," its entire fallacy and evil tendency were equally obvious to all who, from extensive personal intercourse with the Chinese, and from the means and opportunities of forming correct opinions upon the subject of our past and present relations with the empire, which they had thereby enjoyed, were well qualified to pronounce upon the merits of this important question, in its connexion with the war now about to be waged: the opium question should be regarded merely as a spark blown into a mine,

which, during the past half century, the vindictiveness and insufferable arrogance of the Chinese government had been gradually charging; and it can be no more considered the primary cause of the war than can the match, which ignites the train, be styled the cause of the breach made by the explosion. That the quarrel was an unhappy one, and for many reasons to be deeply deplored, does not admit of a doubt, but that it was on our part just and unavoidable, and that the demands of our government were reasonable, and based upon the principle of reciprocity in commercial intercourse, all must allow, after a dispassionate consideration of all the circumstances of the case.

Singapore was the rendezvous of the combined force, forming what was now called the "Eastern Expedition;" and so energetically had the measures, directed by the ministry, been carried out by the authorities in India, that a compact and serviceable body of troops, mustering about 3600 bayonets, with a due equipment of artillery and other ordnance materiel, and a squadron of three men-of-war and two steamers, had assembled in the roads early in May. The death of Admiral Sir Frederick Maitland, who commanded on the

East India station, had left the direction of the squadron to the senior naval officer present, and as Captain Sir Gordon Bremer happened to visit Madras in the Alligator frigate, during a trip from his station on the coast of New Holland to Calcutta, he assumed the vacant command.

CHAPTER IV.

Sailing of the expedition—Arrival off the Ladrones—Proceeds northwards—Chusan—Conference—Preparations for attack—First gun fired—Landing of the troops—The suburbs of Ting-hae occupied—Samshoo—False alarm—Accident to the Melville—Settlement of the government of the island—Refusal of the authorities to convey a letter to the emperor—Bombardment of Amoy—Sickness of the troops.

The ships of war assembled at Singapore during May were, the Wellesley, 74; Conway, 28; Alligator, 28; Cruiser, 18; Larne, 20; Algerine, 10; Rattlesnake, 6, Troop Ship; and Atalanta, and Madagascar, steamers of the Indian service; and with these were 26 transports and store ships, having on board her Majesty's 18th, 26th, and 49th, regiments of foot, a battalion of native troops from Bengal, formed expressly for the Chinese expedition, by collecting a volunteer company from ten regiments of the line, two companies of royal artillery, with nine-pounder field-pieces, and twelve-pounder howitzers, and two companies of sappers and miners, with a large engineer establishment from Madras.

The command of the troops here devolved upon Colonel Burrell, 18th regiment, as senior officer, and Colonel Oglander, of the Cameronians, was second in command. After a detention of three weeks at Singapore, the expedition proceeded and arrived off the Ladrones, near Macao, on the 21st June, the Alligator and Madagascar having preceded the fleet by a few days to carry the intelligence of its approach to Captain Elliot, who was then residing at the Portuguese settlement. Leaving the transports under the direction of Captain Bethune, of the Conway, the Commodore, Sir Gordon Bremer, ran into Macao Roads, with the Wellesley, to communicate with Captain Elliot, regarding the disposal of the force. It may be easily conceived that the appearance of so formidable an assemblage of armed vessels, especially the steamers, was viewed with no little surprise and excitement by the Chinese. On the day following that of the arrival of the Commodore, a public notice was issued establishing a blockade of the river and port of Canton, at all its entrances, to be commenced on the 28th, and specifying, with a view to the convenience of British and foreign merchant ships, certain anchorages of rendez-

vous, to which they might be permitted to repair. On the 24th, the fleet outside the great Ladrones were signalled to proceed to the northward under the guidance of the Conway, and after receiving this order were directed, in the event of separation, to steer for the southernmost island of the Chusan Archipelago, there to await the arrival of the Commodore, with the transports and ships of war. The weather being serene, and the wind steady, the whole fleet kept well together, and anchored to the leeward of Buffalo Island, where Captain Bethune issued a circular to the forces, reminding them that the object of the war was to obtain satisfaction, not from the people, but from the government, and exhorting them to adopt, in their intercourse with the former, all means in their power to conciliate their goodwill. The Commodore, with the Madagascar steamer, Alligator frigate, and three transports, with the Atalanta steamer, having on board the two chiefs of the expedition and their staff, then proceeded to Chusan northern harbour to reconnoitre. They found the Chinese utterly unprepared for the hostile visit with which they were threatened; a few war-junks were drawn up abreast of the suburb

of Ting-hae, the capital, and some soldiers were descried constructing two or three batteries with bags of gunny cloth, or coarse canvas, filled with grain. No fire was, however, opened upon the steamer as she advanced, and even her boats were allowed to row about among the junks, to sound for positions for the ships of war, without any molestation. On the following morning, the Wellesley and several of the nearer ships entered the harbour, dropping their anchors close in-shore, without the slightest attempt to prevent them.

The flag-ship was soon, however, boarded by an emissary from the Chinese admiral, seeking to know the business of the strangers, and the reason of their having sought so distant a spot for their visit; and after returning with the Commodore's reply to their pacific overture, intimation was sent off to the Wellesley, that the Chinese admiral and chief magistrate would visit the English great officers in the course of the day, and confer with them regarding the matters whose adjustment they had come so far to secure. A deputation from the shore accordingly arrived, consisting of the two principal Chinese functionaries, and a retinue of inferior

mandarins and servants; and the Commodore, having been joined by Colonel Burrell, received them in the great cabin of the 74 with becoming state. They admitted their inability to cope with a force so powerful; but urged that their duty and allegiance to the Emperor forbade their surrendering the island without offering all the resistance in their power; and finally, they left the Wellesley with the understanding, that if before two P.M., on the day following, no pacific overtures should be made, the town would be forthwith attacked.

On the morning of the 5th July, all the transports having succeeded in entering the harbour, in spite of the difficulties which beset the passage, and which brought many of them into dangerous contact with each other, in the rapid tideways by which the harbour is entered, the troops were prepared for landing, long-boats hoisted out, field-pieces lowered, and every preparation made for the commencement of active operations; the men-of-war cleared for action, and the pivot-guns of the steamers trained upon the batteries which the Chinese had hastily thrown up to make a semblance of resistance. From an early hour in the morning, the inha-

bitants of the town and suburbs, and of the adjacent villages, were seen from the anchorage hurrying out towards the interior in vast numbers, laden with their property, evidently anticipating the result of the impending conflict, notwithstanding the formidable assemblage of troops which their own authorities were observed during the day to be forming along the wharfs, and between the batteries, to oppose the landing of the British. At two P.M., no 1841 overture for a peaceable occupation of the town having been received, and the display of banners along the heights which flanked the principal landing-place, and of troops along the sea-wall of the suburb, indicating a determination to resist, a shotted gun was fired from the Wellesley, at a round tower near the water's edge, where some soldiers were strengthening a parapet with sand-bags. It was immediately returned by one from the junk of the Chinese admiral; and the fire shortly became general along their line of defence, and from their war-junks abreast of the town. The first broadside of the Wellesley almost annihilated the wretched craft opposed to her; and the Conway, directing her guns against some temporary works thrown

ENTRANCE TO CHUSAN BAY.

up on the slope of a hill to the right of the town, speedily silenced their fire. In a few minutes, the fire of the enemy generally had ceased, save from one junk, which was opposed to the Algerine, and which managed to maintain a contest by far the most spirited of the day. When the smoke cleared away, the junks were seen dismasted, or driven on shore, and the soldiers on the wharfs dispersed.

The troops, the first division of whom had been put into their boats previous to the commencement of the action, were now directed to land; and the grenadiers of the 18th Royal Irish, and a detachment of Royal Marines, were, in a few minutes after the cessation of the cannonade, formed upon the landing-place, and commenced the ascent of Joss-house Hill. These were the first European troops who had ever landed on the shores of China as conquering invaders. A joss-house, which occupied a commanding position on the summit of the hill to the right of the suburb already alluded to, was taken possession of, and some guns of the Madras Artillery, with a detachment of Sappers and the regiment of Cameronians, defiled through the narrow streets near the water's edge, and

emerging upon an open space or plain, partially covered with cultivation, pushed forward until within four or five hundred yards of the ramparts of the city; and placing four field-pieces and howitzers in position, as close as the impassable rice-fields, at this season under water, would allow, threw round shot and shells into the enemy's works, while the Sappers and Miners loopholed and strengthened some farm-houses and out-offices for occupation as an advanced post. For some time, the Chinese maintained a smart fire upon the working parties, and upon the field-battery upon the open ground; but their powder appeared bad, and their gunnery worse, for many of their balls fell short even of the limited range required, and such as accomplished the distance whistled wide of their mark. A great show of banners was in the meantime made along the line of rampart threatened by the British; and a continued din of gongs, and of shouting from the city, indicated that a serious resistance was intended. Colonel Burrell did not think it prudent to precipitate his attack, and the troops were directed to find the best quarters they could in the suburb for the night, and prepare for action early in the morning.

In spite, however, of these precautions, some of the troops, in their search for billets, happening to come upon several extensive stores of samshoo, a spirit distilled from rice, and mixed with a decoction of juniper-berry, and some other ingredients of a deleterious nature, drank immoderately of the brutalizing poison, and were found in a state of helpless intoxication. Many Chinese of the lowest class were also found roaming through the suburb in search of plunder; and before midnight, a conflagration broke out, and consumed so considerable a portion of the suburb, that the 49th Regiment had, in the morning, to make a wide detour to reach the point assigned them in the attack, secure from the burning embers, so dangerous to a column of men with rounds of ball cartridge in their pouches. The approaches to the city gates were reconnoitred on two points during the night by Captain Pears and a party of engineers, and found to present no great obstacle to a *coup de main;* but the reconnoitring party, happening to cross the front of an advanced picquet, were fired upon by the sentries, and the out-post, taking up the alarm, opened also with musketry, while Colonel Montgomerie, who commanded the

troops and artillery, occupying the open ground nearest the city walls, was induced by the rumours brought in by the retreating picquets, to make his men stand to their arms, and the gunners to their pieces, with matches lighted. When morning dawned, Colonel Burrell advanced, with his staff, and a party of the 18th regiment, to reconnoitre the main gate, which was to be the principal object of his attack, when it was discovered that the enemy had abandoned the place during the night, and a ladder having been brought up, two or three officers got over the wall, and removing the bags of grain with which the gates were blocked up, opened an entrance for the leading column. The city was found nearly deserted by its inhabitants, and the few who remained appeared little inclined to trust to the mercy of their invaders. Their fears were, however, soon allayed, by the protestations of the Rev. Mr. Gutzlaff, who had accompanied the expedition as interpreter, and who immediately distributed and posted up proclamations throughout the city, acquainting the people that the British intended no injury to the inhabitants of the cities and villages, which the course of the war

VIEW OF JOSS-HOUSE HILL FROM CHUSAN HARBOUR.

might compel them to occupy, but that their only object was to obtain from the emperor redress for many wrongs suffered in by-gone days, and an assurance that the peace and harmony which had so long existed between the two nations should not again be interrupted upon pretexts so absurd and trivial, as well as unjust and despotic, as those which had been advanced at Canton during the past year, to justify the outrageous proceedings which had brought on the present unhappy crisis.

On the day of the occupation, the 5th July, Admiral Elliot arrived off the island in H.M.S. Melville, and hearing the report of fire-arms, he pressed his flag-ship through the difficulties of the passage by which the inner harbour was at that time entered, with all possible speed; but unfortunately, when in tow of the Atalanta steamer, the seventy-four swung on a sharp peak of rock projecting to within twelve feet of low water-mark, with such force, that a great portion of her false keel was carried away, her stern-post seriously damaged, and her rudder rendered almost unserviceable, the vessel heeling over at the same time so much, as to place the

lives of all on board in imminent jeopardy, which was only arrested by the instantaneous closing of the lower deck ports. The damage which she sustained was, however, so serious as to compel the admiral to shift his flag into the Wellesley, and to leave the Blenheim, 74, which arrived soon afterwards, to heave down the Melville, and assist in repairing her, an object which was not effectually accomplished until the 1st October. Before the admiral landed, Tinghae was in the possession of our troops, and it only remained for his Excellency to establish such regulations for the government of the island as might best secure the welfare of the people who chose to remain, and the comfort and efficiency of the troops and depots which it was necessary to leave. Colonel Burrell was appointed military commandant, and Mr. H. Clarke, who had been distinguished for his able conduct of the affairs of the East India Company in China, after the expiration of their charter, was appointed civil commissioner, an office which he declined, and the duties of both, therefore, devolved on Colonel Burrell.

A squadron, consisting of the Wellesley, 74,

KEE-TO POINT.

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

the Blonde, 42, the Modeste, 20, Pylades, 20, Madagascar steamer, and two or three transports, was now prepared to proceed to the Pei-ho, but before starting, the admiral dispatched a messenger in a steamer to Chin-hae, at the mouth of the Ningpo river, to deliver into the hands of the authorities of that place a copy of a letter addressed by Lord Palmerston to the chief advisers of the emperor. The letter was received by a mandarin, and detained long enough to admit of the contents being transcribed, when it was returned to the steamer, with an intimation that the style and subject of the communication were not such as they could venture to expose to the glance of the imperial eye; the steamer then returned to Chusan harbour. Not so the Blonde frigate, whose commanding officer, Captain Bourchier, had been charged with a similar commission to Amoy, where, on the refusal of the mandarins not only to receive the letter, but to hold any communication whatever with the frigate, and on their firing in a treacherous and cowardly manner upon an unarmed boat, which had been sent ashore with Mr. Thom, to endeavour to satisfy them

admissions and deaths which occurred in the hospital of the European regiments, from the 13th July to the 31st December, 1840 :—

	Madras Artillery.		18th Regiment.		26th Regiment.		49th Regiment.		Total.	
	Admissions.	Deaths.	Admissions.	Deaths.	Admissions.	Deaths.	Admissions.	Deaths.	Admissions.	Deaths.
Diarrhœa	81	3	234	3	324	63	190	1	829	70
Dysentery	48	7	160	32	185	65	566	114	959	218
Fever, Continued.	15	. .	15	. .	56	1	169	1	255	2
Remittent..	. .	. .	1	1	4	5	. .	. .	5	6
Intermittent	362	3	771	1	864	86	657	1	2654	91
Other diseases ..	69	3	160	15	112	18	286	25	627	61
Total.....	575	16	1341	52	1545	238	1868	142	5329	448

CHAPTER V.

The Yellow Sea—Astonishment of the Chinese at the sight of a steam-boat—Keeshen—His artful diplomacy—Sends a present to the admiral—Expeditions of inquiry—A hostile demonstration—Keeshen's proposal—Further delay—Chinese report—Artifice.

The flag of Admiral Elliot having been transferred to the Wellesley, the expedition to Petcheelee proceeded northward, and passing the promontory of Shangtung on the 5th August, before the strength of the southerly monsoon had subsided, anchored off the mouth of the Pei-ho, on the 9th, in latitude 38° 55′ north, longitude 118° east, but at so great a distance from the shore, that the low mud banks which gird the mouth of the river were barely visible from the maintop of the flagship. The anchorage had only six fathoms of water at low tide, and a nearer approach was consequently not considered advisable. The water, even a considerable distance from the land, was turbid and of a deep

yellow colour, which is caused by the earthy matter brought down in vast quantities by the river Pei—hence the name of Yellow Sea given to this body of water washing the northern coast of the empire.

On the 10th, Captain Elliot approached the shore: a strong bar of mud and sand crosses the mouth of the river almost from bank to bank, but having fortunately arrived at the period of spring tides, the steamer, which drew 11½ feet, was enabled on the following morning, at high water, to get safely over the bar, with six inches to spare. She anchored off one of the low forts which ostensibly guarded the approach to Ta-koo, a small town whose pagodas and junk masts became visible to the crew of the steamer a little way up the river's course to the westward. The appearance of this strange craft, propelled by means which must, to the occupants of the fort, have worn the air of magic, created evident excitement on shore, great crowds assembling on the banks of the river to gaze on the novel spectacle, while horsemen were seen hurrying to and fro along the flats below the forts, on whose mean looking ramparts some troops were also observed collecting.

The whole appearance of the position and works at the entrance of the river, showed that the visit of the hostile squadron was totally unexpected, and that until the report of its departure from Chusan, in a northerly direction, and of the alarming fact of its having passed the headland of Shang-tung, reached Pekin, the imperial mind had never been awakened to the real nature of the "communication" with which the English ministry had favoured his court. Immediately after the steamer had anchored, she was boarded by a messenger from the shore, who informed Mr. Morrison (Captain Elliot's presence, as a matter of etiquette, not being made known) that Keeshen, a member of the imperial cabinet, and governor of the imperial province of Petcheelee, had arrived in the vicinity of Ta-Koo, charged by the emperor to listen to the communications which the foreigners might wish to make, and to receive any letters with which their envoys might be entrusted for the court of Pekin. The tone of this mandarin boded no intention of hostility. The steamer recrossed the bar to join the fleet, Mr. Morrison having signified to the Chinese envoy Captain Elliot's desire that an officer of suitable rank

should be sent to the flag-ship to receive Lord Palmerston's letter; and further, that the influence of the governor should be exerted to cause proper supplies of fresh provisions to reach the squadron lying at the anchorage, eight or nine miles distant. On the 13th, a mandarin of respectable appearance and rank came out in a junk to the Wellesley, attended by several boats, and presented to the admiral, for the use of the force, and in the name of Keeshen, a liberal supply of bullocks, sheep, and poultry, an offering of no trifling value to men in such circumstances. This messenger was followed, on the 15th, by an aide-de-camp of the governor, a mandarin of moderate rank, but shrewd and intelligent. His name was Showpei Pih, and he hence earned from the expedition the cognomen of "Captain White," pih signifying white. He was charged by Keeshen to receive the despatch addressed to the imperial cabinet, and was instructed to state that it would be transmitted without delay to Pekin, where no doubt could be entertained that the matters of which it treated would be satisfactorily arranged, and a suitable answer returned after the expiration of ten days, for which period he was commissioned to stipulate.

This proposition was, of course, instantly acceded to, and advantage was taken of the delay to dispatch the vessels of the squadron in various directions, in quest both of geographical knowledge, and of the more urgently needed information on the subject of supplies, which, both at the time present and in the event of any future operations in the northern seas, was indispensable. The short cruises made by several of the vessels during this period of deliberation at Pekin proved exceedingly interesting; the Blonde, Modeste, with the Ernaad transport, visited the coast of Mantchowria, and besides ascertaining that cattle in abundance were to be procured near the shore, made some valuable observations upon the natural history of that region, establishing the fact of the existence of coal of inferior quality near Fuh-chow, a trading town of that district, and of its having long been a regular article of export from that part of the coast of Tartary.

The Wellesley visited the Meaon-taon group of islands, in the southern part of the bay, and found cattle and other stock plentiful, while similar discoveries were made by the Pylades and Volage, on the western shore. On the 27th,

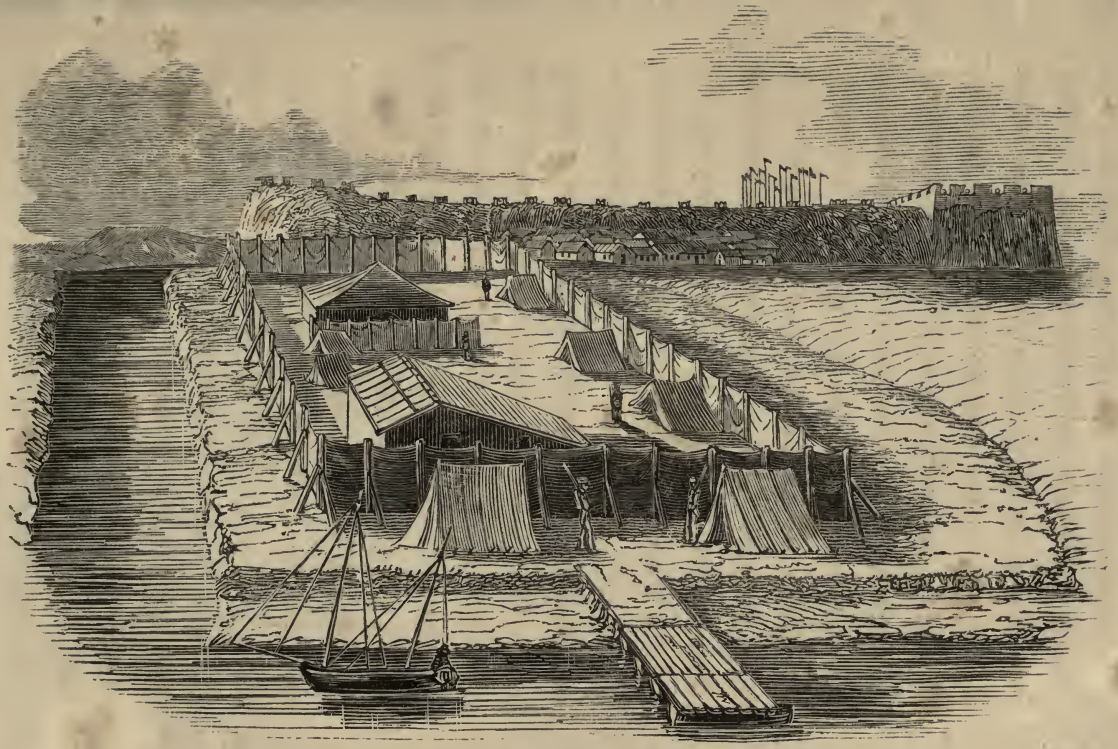
the day on which the time stipulated for by Keeshen expired, the fleet again assembled at their former anchorage, but no sign of an imperial messenger was discernible, and even the junks, which were before seen pursuing their voyages in various directions near the mouth of the Pei-ho, had disappeared from the vicinity of the squadron. The plenipotentiaries immediately decided on a hostile demonstration—orders were accordingly issued, on the evening of the 27th, for the light squadron, consisting of the Pylades, Volage, and Modeste, to weigh at daybreak on the following morning, and run in as close to the Ta-Koo forts as their draught would allow, the Modeste being directed to remove some of her guns and stores, in order to lighten her sufficiently to enable her to cross the bar and anchor in the river abreast of the works which flanked its entrance. All the available boats of the squadron were also ordered for service, and strong parties of seamen and marines were "told off" for the duty expected in the morning. On the approach of the light squadron and the armed boats towards the mouth of the river, a mandarin hastened out to meet them, and explained that the commands of the emperor

having been received from Pekin earlier than was expected, a communication from Keeshen for the plenipotentiaries had been sent out to the anchorage of the flag-ship on the 24th, and also on the 25th, when finding the British vessels still absent, the despatch of Keeshen had been taken back to Ta-Koo, to await further intelligence of our movements. It was now produced, and found to contain a proposition from the imperial minister to Captain Elliot, for a conference on shore, when all points requiring investigation could be discussed in a manner far more satisfactory than was practicable in the limited space of an official despatch; the customs of his country, and the peculiar rank which he held, must, he urged, prevent him from visiting the chief plenipotentiary on board his vessel; but as the position of Captain Elliot, as second in the commission, would not be compromised by waiving the etiquette which could not be disregarded by his chief, and as the intimate acquaintance of Captain Elliot with the true history of all the events which had led to the present communication especially qualified him to undertake the discussion now solicited, he trusted that Captain Elliot would see no reason

to reject his amicable proposal. Captain Elliot immediately consented, and a conference was at once arranged for the 30th, when it accordingly took place. The meeting furnished the first instance of a Chinese dignitary consenting to confer personally upon terms of equality with a subject of Great Britain, and Captain Elliot was received and treated with the utmost courtesy and distinction by Keeshen, and all the high functionaries who attended him. The conference was private, Captain Elliot being accompanied only by Mr. Morrison, the interpreter, while Keeshen, contrary to Chinese usage, excluded on his part all but his secretary and immediate official attendants. The result of the conference was a further reference to Pekin, and additional delay became thus unavoidable. The scene presented in the interior of the encampment, which had been hastily erected for this purpose on the northern bank of the river, between the fort and the water's edge, is represented by those present as highly picturesque, although free from everything approaching to unnecessary pomp or ostentation. Two large marquees had been pitched in the centre of an enclosure, formed by canvas screens—one for

the reception of Captain Elliot, the other for the accommodation of Keeshen, in which latter the conference took place. Another range of canvassed dwellings had been erected for the suite, and to serve as a saloon, in which a plentiful and almost sumptuous repast was laid out, consisting of excellent beef and mutton, good bread, birds'-nest soup, sea-slugs, and ragouts of comestibles, whose variety and number gave an air of novelty and curiosity to the entertainment. The marines and boats' crews were, at the same time, well supplied with food in a separate tent. During the conference, parties of officers made attempts to reconnoitre the works and defences of the Chinese up the river. The soldiers, however, who were stationed in considerable numbers along the ramparts of the nearest fort, frustrated all their efforts to penetrate beyond the ditch, and it was only ascertained that during the short period which had elapsed since the first visit of the steamer on the 11th, no exertion had been spared by the Chinese to strengthen their fortifications, by repairing the parapets and mounting additional guns and ginjalls to command the entrance of the river. A long breastwork had been thrown up at a short dis-

tance from the fort, and behind it the white tops of numerous tents were seen extending far away towards the town of Ta-Koo, which, if they were really occupied by troops, a matter rather doubtful, from the well-known Chinese practice of pitching empty tents, and even of throwing up masses of earth in the form of a tent, and whitewashing their tops, to represent a formidable army, indicated the close proximity of a large military force. Amongst the ordnance mounted on the works at the mouth of the Pei-ho, it was observed with some interest that a prominent position in an elevated battery was assigned to six field-pieces of small calibre, which, from the modern and correct form of their carriages, and from the European style of the equipment and casting of the guns, it was concluded were the identical pieces presented to the emperor by Lord Macartney, on the occasion of his embassy to Pekin. Pending the reply from Pekin, the admiral paid a visit in the steamer to the spot whence the great wall of China had been seen in the distance from the decks of the vessels which had cruised in a westerly direction, between the 16th and 27th. The trip was successful, and highly interesting; the steamer



ENCAMPMENT AT TOONG-KOO, WHERE CAPTAIN ELLIOT MET KEESHEN.

having been brought to within half a mile of the eastern termination of this extraordinary work, and its geographical position accurately determined to be in latitude 40° 4′ N., and longitude 120° 2′ E. At this point of the coast of Petcheelee, a lofty and bold range of mountains, which runs in a northerly direction parallel to the shore for several leagues, abruptly ceases or becomes broken into low undulations of insignificant height. Along the summit of this rocky barrier, the wall was seen to extend, crowning every commanding ridge, and descending the most precipitous scarps, which occurred in the rugged chain over which its course lay, until on reaching the point where its continuity is broken, it was observed running down to the sea by an almost inaccessible slope, and terminating at the water's edge in a square fort, in which a strong body of troops was seen encamped. No attempt was made to land, but the steamer was moved slowly backwards and forwards in front of the fort, to afford an opportunity of examining as closely as possible this stupendous monument. As observed by the members of Lord Macartney's mission, a double parapet was seen running along the whole extent visible, with

embrasures so cut as to permit of defence on either side, while the high square towers, rising at regular intervals above the rampart, seemed isolated in such a manner as to make them posts capable of independent defence, a mutual support being thus given in commanding the approaches from the plain on either side and the terre-plain of the rampart connecting them.

On the 8th September, the admiral having returned to the anchorage, the steamer was sent to the shore, according to invitation, to bring off the mandarin, whom we have styled Captain White, with the final reply of the imperial cabinet. This was to the effect, that the emperor being of opinion that the matters in question could be better discussed at Canton, where the difficulties had arisen, had deputed Keeshen to proceed thither, and requested the plenipotentiaries to meet him at that place. This being acceded to, the fleet left the anchorage on the 15th, steering for the Meaon-taon islands and the promontory of Shang-tung. A fortified town was here visited by some vessels of the light squadron, the Modeste finding water enough to admit of her being anchored within

THE GREAT WALL OVER THE HILLS.

pistol-shot of the rampart. The town appeared extensive and important, but the fortifications were ruinous and inefficient. The mandarins paid a visit to the Modeste, and gave every assurance of their desire to cultivate the friendship of the foreigners, sending supplies of all sorts to the ships, and readily affording all the information sought regarding the navigation of the neighbouring waters.

CHAPTER VI.

A truce concluded—An immense funereal pile—Wreck of the Melville: imprisonment and barbarous treatment of the survivors—Refusal to allow the sick to land at Manilla—Survey of Yang-tse-Kiang—Frequent skirmishes with the Chinese—Survey of the Archipelago.

On the day after the arrival of the squadron at Chusan, where they anchored in the harbour which had been called "Spithead," the admiral issued an official notification of the truce which had been agreed upon with the imperial high commissioner, and called upon all persons to abstain from encroaching upon the boundaries assigned, and "to aid him in cultivating a good understanding with the people."

The first step taken by the plenipotentiaries, on their arrival in Chusan, was the appointment of a court of inquiry to investigate the causes of the great sickness which had prevailed, and active measures were taken to fortify and pro-

CHUSAN BAY.

tect the British position in the island. The chief engineer, Captain Pears, by direction of Brigadier Burrell, proceeded to scarp away the slopes of Joss-house Hill, towards the city, and to excavate the foundations of a retaining wall, to form the enceinte of a small fort to crown its summit. The batteries were marked out and commenced, but it was soon found that to give the work its proper strength, it would be necessary to remove a mass of earth which had at first been considered a portion of the hill, but which proved to consist of a vast accumulation of coffins, built up in tiers with earth and stones, so as to form a mound. As the work was to be completed as speedily as possible, there was no alternative but to cut away the whole of this funereal pile, and in the course of a few days some hundreds of coffins were to be seen either tumbling over the cliffs into the sea, rolled down into the fields at the foot of the hill, or piled up clear of the projected works. Some Chinese at length began to remove them, but so slowly, that infection being dreaded from the mass of corruption which each day's work exposed to view, the sappers employed in building the fort were directed to collect the remnants of mortality

into a heap, which was then burnt to ashes with the fuel furnished by the coffins which had been their last earthly tenements. During the months of August and September, the Chinese spies, and others in the pay of the mandarins, had commenced the practice of kidnapping, which was, at a subsequent period, carried to a serious extent. Instigated by the large rewards offered by the mandarins at Ningpo for prisoners, whether Europeans or natives of India, the wretches employed in this nefarious pursuit at length laid a plan for the seizure of Captain Anstruther, of the Madras Artillery, in which, unfortunately, they succeeded.

About the same time, also, a transport brig, the Kite, which had been armed with thirty-two pounder carronades, from H.M.S. Melville, and her crew reinforced by some seamen and marines, from the same vessel, under the command of Lieutenant Douglas, R.N., was wrecked on a sand-bank between Chapoo and the mouth of the Yang-tse-Kiang, and all on board, who escaped the perils of the water, were seized by the Chinese, as they endeavoured to reach the shore. The circumstance of an English lady having been on board this vessel, at the time of

CAGE, WITH MRS. NOBLE.

her wreck, accompanying her husband, Captain Noble, the commander, excited much commiseration and interest, when it was ascertained that, after suffering much cruel treatment and indignity, the whole of the survivors were put into cages so small as to impose on the occupant a constantly stooping and cramped posture, and thus conveyed to Ningpo, where they were thrust into prison, and heavily ironed. The unmanly barbarity with which this hapless lady was treated, excited, when it became known at Chusan, through the medium of a friend, to whom she contrived to convey a letter, a feeling of deep indignation. Not only was she made to endure the acute suffering of confinement in a cage, not more than three and a half feet in length, during thirty-six consecutive hours, without a moment's respite, but she was exposed in the market-places of several towns, through which the prisoners passed, to the gaze of the populace, and to the jeers and hootings of a canaille, who, according to the custom of their country, consider any woman who quits her home to appear abroad, save in the seclusion of a sedan chair, to have lost all claim to the consideration due to her sex.

Shortly after the return of the plenipotentiaries from the north, Captain Elliot went over to Ningpo, in the Atalanta steamer, accompanied by two other vessels of war, to demand the release of the whole of the prisoners, and was met at Chin-hae by one of the provincial authorities, who stated that he had no power to permit any of the prisoners to quit Ningpo, until after the evacuation of Chusan by the British; but that every care and attention should be bestowed upon them, and permission be freely given for letters, books, and articles of clothing, to be conveyed to them, on which assurance Captain Elliot returned to Chusan.

Before proceeding to the south to meet Keeshen at the time appointed, the admiral appropriated two transports for the conveyance to Manilla of a number of sick of the different regiments, for whom change of air had been recommended. On their arrival, however, at the Spanish settlement, the authorities of the place refused to allow a single individual to land, under the plea, that the fever with which the men had been afflicted might prove infectious; and, after lingering a few days in the roads, in the hope of overcoming this objection, the officer com-

manding was compelled to carry the transports into Macao or Hong-Kong. Some better arrangements having been made for the location of the troops remaining in Chusan, the admiral, with the greater part of the fleet, took his departure for the south on the 15th November, leaving Captain Bourchier, of the Blonde, in command of the naval force, with the Conway, Alligator, Nimrod, Algerine, and Young Hebe, and Atalanta steamer.

During the absence of the admiral in the north, the operations conducted by Captain Bethune, in the Yang-tse-Kiang, had been successful and interesting. A passage safe for vessels of a certain draught at ordinary, and for the largest class at spring tides, was surveyed and correctly noted on a chart, and the Conway, which was joined by the Algerine, (after a visit which the latter paid to Chapoo, and which produced a smart engagement with a Chinese battery, in which the enemy showed much spirit,) then proceeded up the river, surveying the various banks and shoals with which its channel is impeded. The result of the labours of the able and zealous officer who commanded her was highly satisfactory, as, up to a point thirty

miles to the westward of Tsung-ming island, the chart constructed by Captain Bethune showed a passage free from danger of any magnitude, and navigable for vessels of considerable tonnage.

No attempt was made to molest the ships or boats during the surveying operations by war junks or armed row boats; but whenever want of fresh provisions occasioned a foraging excursion on shore, the party almost always found their way beset by armed bands of Chinese; and during skirmishes which frequently took place, some loss on the part of the British was experienced. One midshipman, Mr. Harvey, of the Conway, was mortally wounded on shore at the western extremity of Tsung-ming, (now called, in memory of his untimely fate, Harvey Point,) in an encounter with a party of Chinese soldiers who had taken post behind an old junk, hauled on shore to form a sort of breastwork. A seaman of the Conway was killed upon the same occasion.

Upon receiving the report of Captain Bethune, when he returned to Chusan, it was at first the intention of the admiral to have dispatched him again, with a steamer, as a reinforcement to his

small squadron, to continue his important investigations along the course of the Yang-tse-Kiang, as far, if possible, as the junction of the two great branches, northern and southern, of the Grand Canal; but the truce of the 6th November at Chusan prevented this project from being carried into execution.

An elaborate survey was at the same time proceeding at Chusan of the Archipelago and adjacent main line of coast, under the superintendence of Lieutenant (now Captain) Collinson, R.N., who had come out in the Blenheim, specially charged by the Lords of the Admiralty with the conduct of all surveying operations and astronomical observations which it might fall within the means of the expedition to carry on.

CHAPTER VII.

Successful attack on a Chinese position—Attack on the Rev. Mr. Staunton—Critical situation of the British at Macao—Preparations for conflict—Successful attack on the Chinese works—Chinese proclamation—Blockade of Amoy—Establishment of an hospital at Ting-hae.

At Canton and in Macao, during the five months of negotiation in the north, no event of importance occurred, save a spirited and successful attack by a small combined force under Captain Smith and Major Mee, on a position taken up by the Chinese on a narrow neck of land which separates the rocky headland of Macao from the promontory, where a sand battery, mounting seventeen guns, had been erected near a barrier wall, which marks the confines of the Portuguese territory. For some time previous to the attack, large bodies of Chinese troops had been seen gathering on the hills, and forming encampments in the neighbourhood of Casa Bianca; war junks and troop boats had dropped down

the inner water and anchored not far from the barrier, and all things indicated a movement of a threatening character, either upon Macao itself, or with a view to the expulsion or constraint of the British residents. Vast numbers of lawless ruffians infested the streets of Macao, and the persons of British subjects were in more than one instance assailed.

A vague presentiment of an impending attack was felt by all; and while the movements and preparations of the Chinese forces at Casa Bianca and the barrier were watched with much anxiety, the inhabitants of the town, both English and Portuguese, maintained by night strict watch and ward, as though in a beleagured city. At length an incident occurred, which brought matters to a crisis. While bathing on the morning of the 6th August, at the point of the coast called Casilha Bay, the Rev. Mr. Staunton, a gentleman much esteemed by the community, was attacked by an armed party of Chinese, knocked down and wounded by a sword cut, and bound and carried into a boat, which immediately proceeded to Canton. A feeling of alarm and indignation was at once excited among the British when the news of this abduction was spread;

and an address was immediately dispatched to Captain Smith, senior naval officer in the south, and then commanding the Druid, to exert his influence to obtain Mr. Staunton's release, or to secure him from coercion or injury; and at the same time soliciting his attention to a recent edict by the viceroy of Kwang-tung, offering a reward for the seizure or assassination of British subjects, to the gathering of troops about the shores of the inner harbour and barrier, and to the lawless conduct of the desperadoes, among whom the perpetrators of the outrage on the Bilbaino, and of the atrocities committed on the crew of the Black Joke, were notorious, which proved that the situation of the British community at Macao, in spite of the friendly disposition and efforts of the Portuguese to ensure their safety, had become critical and threatening to an extreme degree.

On the following day Captain Smith came into Macao roads in the Enterprize steamer, and circulated on the 11th a reply to the letter of the English inhabitants, in which he informed them that Mr. Johnston, the deputy superintendent, had already addressed the governor of Macao, soliciting his intercession with the provincial

government to obtain the release of Mr. Staunton, who, it had been ascertained, was then in the hands of the police authorities at Canton. In consequence of this application, the governor of Macao lost no time in addressing the Taou-tae, or Chinese authority,—who, strange to say, exercises his functions under the immediate control of the provincial government, in the very heart of the Portuguese settlement,—begging his personal interference on the subject with the viceroy. Yih, the Taou-tae, accordingly left Macao on the evening of the 11th August, for the ostensible purpose of seeing the viceroy, and negotiating for the immediate release of Mr. Staunton. He returned, however, on the 17th, charged with instructions, which he took little pains to conceal, to recommence that system of harassment and annoyance which had in the preceding year caused the expulsion of the British from Macao. There was now but one course to pursue to avert the threatened danger, and this Captain Smith did not hesitate at once to adopt.

Collecting all the marines who could be spared from his squadron, amounting to about 120, under the command of Lieutenant Maxwell, of

that corps, eighty seamen from the Druid, under Lieutenant Goldsmith, and 180 men of the Bengal Volunteers, under Major Mee, he put them on board the Enterprize and into long boats towed astern, and on the morning of the 19th stood across with the Hyacinth, the Larne, and the Louisa cutter, towards the sand battery near the barrier gate, where the Chinese troops in considerable force were making all preparations for conflict. Having directed the steamer to proceed with the boats in tow to the northward, so as to land the troops at a considerable distance on the flank of the Chinese position, Captain Smith directed the vessels to anchor abreast of the battery, and open their fire. The result was, that, after about 600 thirty-two pounder shot had been fired, the troops were landed, and the Chinese withdrew from their works, of which we then quietly took possession. But few of the Chinese were killed, and none made prisoners; and of the wounded scarcely a man was found within the works.

However, in its results this little affair was very complete; seventeen guns were spiked, all the tents, magazines, and store buildings behind the battery were destroyed by fire, and the

BARRIER WALL, MACAO.

war junks, which had for some days occupied a position on the inner side of the barrier, slipped their cables, and ran out of gun-shot into the inner harbour. Thirty or forty of the Chinese were supposed to have been killed or wounded, while of the British, four only were hurt, and none seriously. The affair was witnessed by a vast concourse of people from the adjacent heights, among whom were the principal members of the British community at Macao; and the Chinese, on the following morning, (the British having evacuated the barrier works on the evening of their capture,) withdrew all the spiked guns and materiel which remained unconsumed, to a fort near Casa Bianca, which they now began to repair. Many of the respectable shopkeepers, and other Chinese inhabitants of Macao, dreading the retaliation with which they expected their own government would at once visit the city where the British had found refuge, began to quit the Portuguese settlement with their families, and continued to withdraw from the reach of immediate danger until the 28th August, when the sub-magistrate of Macao published a proclamation, in which he exhorted all classes of the Chinese to follow

their respective callings without fear, and without giving ear to the representations of those whose sole object in spreading malicious reports was to gain opportunities to plunder and destroy; wretches, "of whom," said the virtuous Tsotang, the sub-prefect, "whenever I think, my indignation is without bounds." Mr. Staunton, meanwhile, remained a prisoner at Canton, where, through the indulgence of the authorities, he was allowed the use of books, as well as a supply of comforts and necessaries, which his friends were permitted to send to him; but still his situation continued a cause of much anxiety to the community of Macao.

It had been the object of the British government to limit the primary operations of the first expeditionary force to the simple occupation of an advantageous insular position to serve as a depôt, and to the establishment of a close blockade of all the more important seaports, a measure which it was expected would cause great distress to the numerous traders of the coast, and to the exporting manufacturers, and thereby induce the imperial cabinet to accede to conditions by which the empire might be relieved from a scourge so injurious to its welfare.

The utter fallacy of this popular notion has since been fully established, but a digression, to exhibit the reasons for the innocuous operation upon the people of this extraordinary country, of a system which must elsewhere invariably act as a compression of the main artery of the state, would here be out of place. It was considered advisable to persevere in it during the present year, and as the city of Amoy was deemed a point peculiarly favourable for its application, it had been arranged that the Blenheim should, on her arrival in the China seas, be stationed off that fort to enforce a strict blockade in its vicinity, and in conjunction with one or two armed transports, to harass the coast, and destroy any war junks which might be sent from the naval station at Amoy to effect a junction with the fleet at Ningpo or elsewhere.

The accident which befel the Melville at Chusan rendered a change in this arrangement unavoidable, and the Blenheim, being the only vessel in harbour by which a 74-gun ship could be hove down, was directed to remain as a sort of floating dock-yard, and her place as blockading commodore at Amoy was assigned to the Alligator, 28 guns, in company with the Braemar

armed transports, both well manned; but they were found to be of inadequate force, and were compelled to withdraw from before the defences which the active military authorities of the province had thrown up to cover the entrance, since the startling and admonitory visit of the Blonde. Captain Küper, however, before quitting the Amoy waters, dispersed and severely injured a numerically formidable fleet of Fokien war junks, which issued from the harbour to attack his small squadron, and also of repelling, with considerable loss, a movement made against his position by several row-boats, filled with soldiers dispatched from Ko-lang-soo. But on attempting to pass the formidable line of batteries along the low land flanking the passage between the island of Ko-lang-soo and the harbour of Amoy, the storm of shot which flew around the Alligator, and the inefficient range of his own guns, brass 12-pounders, reamed, soon satisfied Captain Küper that no beneficial result could accrue from his continuing the contest. He accordingly returned to Chusan, having fulfilled the object of his mission, and at the same time made a useful reconnoissance of the two passages by which the port of Amoy is entered,

and of the new line of defensive works which the enemy had erected since July.

It may be here mentioned, as the record of the operations of the year 1840 is concluded, that Mr. Lockhart, one of the medical officers of the medical missionary society, established an hospital in Ting-hae, into which, between September and the close of the year, upwards of 1600 Chinese patients were admitted.

CHAPTER VIII.

Departure from Chusan—Outrage on the British flag—Release of the Rev. Mr. Staunton—Letter to Admiral Elliot from the British merchants in Macao—The admiral's reply—Resignation of Admiral Elliot—Succeeded by Commodore Sir Gordon Bremer—Commissioner Lin superseded—The Nemesis steamer—Arrival of forces.

The plenipotentiaries finally quitted Chusan on the 15th November, having before their departure received several communications from Eleepoo, the viceroy of the provinces of Kiangsee and Kiangsoo, of a nature which left little doubt of the sincerity of the court of Pekin in their avowed wish to see the existing differences amicably settled. The fleet arrived in Macao roads (the Melville now again bearing the flag of the admiral) on the 20th November, before which date it had become known that Keeshen, the imperial commissioner, had arrived in or near Canton.

Having brought from Eleepoo a dispatch for

the high commissioner, the admiral ordered the Queen steamer, on the 21st, to proceed to the Bogue, to announce the arrival of the plenipotentiaries, and to deliver the document in question to the military officers in command of the first fort with which she might communicate. The Queen carried a white flag at her mainmast head, and on approaching Chuenpee, where a new work of defence had been recently constructed, she sent a boat with a white flag flying in her stern sheets, in the direction of the Chinese position, with an officer bearing the dispatch of Eleepoo and a communication from the admiral. Before she had approached, however, within musket-shot of the shore, a gun was discharged from the batteries, the shot from which struck the water so near her bows, as to throw a sheet of spray over her crew; whereupon Captain Warden, recalling his boat, shotted his 68-pounders, and stood in-shore towards the fort, which had now commenced a heavy fire upon the steamer, so well directed, that most of the balls fell close to the vessel, and one or two hulled her and damaged her paddle-boxes. The steamer threw several shells and shot within the Chinese lines, and then returned to Macao, to

report the unlooked-for occurrence. Captain Elliot now forwarded the dispatch through the medium of the sub-prefect of Macao, by which means the object desired was attained. The document reached Canton, where an apology was tendered by the authorities for the untoward mistake committed by the commandant of Chuenpee.

On the 26th, Keeshen made his public entry into Canton, having on the same day dispatched his aide-de-camp, "Captain White," to the Melville, in Toong-koo Bay, to announce his arrival, and convey his complimentary greetings. Previous to this, the British community of Macao had addressed a letter to the admiral on the subject of the captivity of Mr. Staunton, which had continued ever since the 6th August, in reply to which his excellency expressed his sympathy with the situation of Mr. Staunton, and his hope that outrages of a similar nature would in future be prevented.

On the 10th of the following month, the captive having been brought into the presence of Keeshen, received the most kindly expressed assurances of the commissioner's regret for the sufferings which he had endured; his manacles

were removed, he was lodged for the night in the governor's house, and in the morning was carried in a sedan to the bank of the river, and put on board a passage-boat which conveyed him to the Wellesley.

On the 25th November, several of the principal mercantile firms in Macao addressed a letter to the admiral, pointing out the injury which would be likely to accrue to the important interests under their charge, if the uncertainty regarding the future position of the British mercantile community in China continued, and requesting his excellency to inform them whether the blockade of the port of Canton was to be removed, whether the truce proclaimed at Chusan was to be considered in force in the south, and whether the British ships might again proceed within the Bogue, or, as a temporary arrangement, land their cargoes in Macao, subject to the duty levied by the Portuguese government. The reply of the admiral expressed his entire ignorance of the ultimate intentions of the Chinese government, with a hope that their suspense would be of short duration, and informed them, that the truce entered into at Chusan was limited to that latitude. This letter

was dated the 26th, and on the 29th, a circular, addressed by Captain Elliot, to the "British merchants, and Her Britannic Majesty's subjects in general," appeared, announcing that the Honourable George Elliot, Rear-Admiral of the Blue, had resigned the command of the fleet into the hands of Commodore Sir Gordon Bremer, sudden and severe illness having incapacitated him from its duties.

Admiral Elliot sailed from Chusan in the Volage, on the 7th December, 1840. Until the latter end of this month, negotiations proceeded between Captain Elliot and Keeshen in a satisfactory manner, and from the tenour of some of the communications made by the latter to the imperial cabinet, which found their way into the public prints, it appeared that the policy of Keeshen was decidedly pacific, and that, if left to the dictates of his own uncontrolled impressions and opinions, the difficulties in the way of a satisfactory accommodation would be permanently removed; but, unfortunately, political intrigue was at that time too powerful in Pekin; numerous partisans of Lin, and many favourable to a war with the hated foreigners, beset the emperor with repre-

sentations as false as their tendency was evil and seditious. Excuses were found for the outrageous conduct of Lin and his subordinates, even down to the perpetrators of the Bilbaino atrocity; and one councillor, more violent than the rest, named Wang, censor of the province of Honang, went the length of petitioning the emperor, to order the heads of the prisoners at Ningpo to be struck off, and to direct that the trade of the English, whose conduct "gods and men view with intense ire, and whom every man may follow his bent and slay," should be cut off for ever; and that while "all the obedient foreign nations should be allowed to trade as formerly, any of their ships found carrying cargo for the English should be seized and confiscated."

Lin himself was not idle. When the intelligence of his supercession reached him, he concocted an acute but fanatical memorial to the emperor, commencing in the usual style of degraded mandarins, by praying for condign punishment as a relief to his overwrought feelings, and ending in an energetic exhortation to use the strongest measures against the English—to expel them from the

empire, and to sever all connexion with them for ever.

The state of public mind in Canton, the tone adopted in edicts and announcements, which began to make their appearance, the activity displayed by the Chinese military authorities at the Bogue and at Chuenpee, in mounting additional guns, and in throwing up defences on convenient sites, and the delay and procrastination which marked the conduct of Keeshen, had all tended to create a belief that hostilities were about to be recommenced.

Captain Elliot, in the Wellesley, remained at Lintin, not far from the forts of Chuenpee and the Bogue, supported by a formidable fleet, which had been last joined by the Nemesis iron steamer, commanded by Captain Hall, a vessel destined to be very conspicuous in all the most important achievements of the war. Her appearance was remarkable, from the circumstance of eyes being painted on her bows. Towards the close of the year also, the opportune arrival of the Manilla convalescents from Chusan, added to seven companies of the 37th regiment of Madras native infantry, sent from India, late in

the season, and landed, pending the receipt of orders from the plenipotentiaries, on an island near Lintin, south of the Bogue, placed a force at the disposal of Captain Elliot, complete and effective. Thus ended the operations of the year 1840.

CHAPTER IX.

Chinese preparations for defence—Attack of Chuenpee—Great destruction of the Chinese—Small loss of the British—Bombardment of Tycocktow—Utility of small iron vessels—Anunghoy battery—Proposition for peace—An armistice.

As day after day wore on, bringing no indication that the ultimate arrangement of the treaty was nearer at hand than when the imperial commissioner tendered his first assurance of sincerity and good will, in the release of Mr. Staunton, the patience of Captain Elliot began at last to give way. More than once the signal was hoisted for the fleet to prepare for immediate service, but was invariably countermanded on the appearance of some boat bearing the white flag issuing from the Bogue. It became at last evident that the object of Keeshen, in thus trifling with the plenipotentiary, was to gain time until the completion of the arrangements for defence,

which were going on with the utmost expedition, almost under the guns of the British squadron, should enable him to throw off the mask. To this course he was no doubt impelled by orders from his superiors, for all believed that he was himself disinclined to war with the English. Captain Elliot now determined on active hostilities, and on the morning of the 7th January, the troops destined for the land attack on the fort of Chuenpee having been put on board the Nemesis, Enterprize, and Madagascar steamers, were landed about two miles to the southward of the point of attack, while the Calliope, Larne, and Hyacinth, and Queen and Nemesis steamers, stood in until abreast of the Chinese batteries, when they dropped their anchors, and commenced the action. The troops, about 1400 in number, consisted of Royal marines, convalescents of the 18th, 26th, and 49th, regiments, Bengal volunteers, and 37th regiment Madras native infantry, with a detachment of Royal artillery and Madras artillery convalescents. The whole were under the command of Major Pratt, of the 26th regiment, who, having formed them into two columns, pushed on immediately to the fort. The Chinese opened

a smart fire, as the heads of the columns came within range, but upon the ships of war ceasing their fire, as the troops neared its line, the fort was carried at a rush, the boats of the squadron, at the same time, pushing on shore, and entering it from the sea-face. Many of the enemy were killed inside the works, owing to their unfortunate impression that our troops either gave no quarter, or if taken prisoners, that their death was inevitable. Acting under this dread, no signs could induce them to surrender; and continuing their endeavours to escape, to the last, a vast number got mixed up with our troops, and were shot down or bayoneted. A large body also were hemmed in between a detachment of seamen and marines, and the 37th Madras native infantry, which had been directed to drive the enemy from a wooded hill, a little to the northward of the fort, a point where they continued in force after the attacking columns had entered the upper works, or hill fort. The troops having scattered the enemy in all directions, were sweeping round the base of the hill, to enter the sea battery, when they encountered a dense mass of Chinese retreating from it, before the boats' crews, who were pressing on their rear,

and a frightful scene of slaughter ensued, in spite of the efforts of the officers to restrain their men. About 150 were made prisoners, many of them severely wounded, and about 400 dead and dying, lay in and about the fort, when the firing ceased. In one particular spot, where the rock rose with a steep slope behind some military buildings, the corpses of the slain were found literally three and four deep, the Chinese having been shot while trying to escape up the hill, and having rolled over, until this ghastly pile was formed.

The loss on the side of the British amounted to thirty-eight men wounded, many of them slightly, by the explosion of a field magazine, which caught fire after the troops had entered the fort. While these operations were being carried on upon the left or northern bank of the river, a squadron, under the command of Captain Scott, R. N., consisting of the Samarang, Druid, Modeste and Columbine, proceeded in the direction of the fort of Tycocktow, which is situated on the opposite shore a short distance higher up the river; and having anchored abreast of a powerful battery, built upon the waters' edge, bombarded it for the space of an hour,

when, the fire of the Chinese slackening, divisions of marines and small-arms men from each ship pushed ashore, and climbing over the shattered parapet, soon drove the enemy from their works.

More resistance, however, was offered here than at Chuenpee, for the Chinese were not forced from their ramparts until the boats' crews had gained their summit, and the bayonet and cutlass had clashed with the spear and the broadsword. Several of the assailants received wounds from the cold steel, a rare occurrence in the Chinese war; and Lieutenant Bower, of the Samarang, received a severe sword-cut in the knee, while forcing his way over the parapet. The Nemesis had on this day the first opportunity of displaying the great utility of small iron vessels of light draught in river service. After disembarking the whole of the 37th regiment below Chuenpee, she ran alongside the fort, and threw shells into the upper fort, until the advance of the troops compelled the shipping to cease firing, when, taking advantage of her light draught, she ran close up to the sea battery, and poured through the embrasures destructive rounds of grape as she passed; then

pushing on over the shallows into Anson's Bay, into the midst of the war junks lying at anchor, she threw Congreve rockets with startling effect, the very first having set fire to the largest of them, which blew up, with all her crew on board.

Aided by a flotilla of boats from the squadron, she proceeded on her course across the bay, setting fire to junk after junk, until the whole fleet, eleven in number, was destroyed, except two which yet remained unhurt, moored to the shore on the far side of the bay; but Captain Hall went over, grappled them, towed them off into deep water, and set fire to them, before the Chinese could sufficiently recover from their surprise and consternation, to offer any resistance to the bold manœuvre.

In the meantime, the 74-gun ships proceeded higher up the river, to prepare for the attack upon the defences of the Bogue, as soon as the troops and squadron engaged in the reduction of Chuenpee and Tycocktow had been withdrawn from those forts. The remainder of the 7th, and a portion of the 8th January, were employed in dismantling the captured works, disabling the guns, ninety-seven in number, and

destroying the buildings and stores. The troops were then all re-embarked, and the signal made for the leading ships to weigh. It had been arranged that the Blenheim should lead into action, and the Queen steamer was accordingly directed to take her in tow, but by some accident of eddy or counter-current, or other cause, after being made fast to the steamer, the Blenheim swung round upon the stream, and could not be moved, so that her commander ordered the hawser to be let go, and made sail upon her. The wind being light, but little progress was made, but still she was forging a-head with the whole fleet in her wake, and gradually closing upon the great Anunghoy battery, which formed at that time the main defence of the Bogue, its fire being the first which a vessel had to encounter in attempting the passage. The long expected engagement now appeared inevitable, and a severe lesson about to be given to the Chinese, who set such store by their enormous granite batteries at the Tiger's mouth ; but before the Blenheim had completed her run, and got within range of Anunghoy, a mean-looking boat, rowed by an old woman, pushed out from

the landing-place, displaying a white flag. It was in the first place steered for the Blenheim, but Sir Le Fleming Senhouse, referring the august envoy (a quack doctor of low degree) to the Wellesley, proceeded on his course, and neared the battery. But the hour of the Bogue had not yet come; the boat got alongside the commodore, and the emissary was received on board.

The proposition which the man was commissioned to make was in character and substance very similar to the previous communications, made in like manner at other places to the plenipotentiary, being nothing more than a request from the Chinese commander-in-chief, Admiral Kwan, on the part of Keeshen, that hostilities might be suspended pending a further discussion of terms for a treaty to be at once entered into between the chiefs of the contending parties. The signal to annul action was immediately after hoisted on board the Wellesley, and certainly created a feeling of great disappointment throughout the fleet.

Captain Elliot issued a circular, dated 8th January, 1841, from H.M.S. Wellesley, off

Anunghoy, announcing that " a communication had been received from the Chinese commander-in-chief, which had led to an armistice, with the purpose of affording the high commissioner time to consider certain conditions now offered for his acceptance."

CHAPTER X.

Captain Elliot's policy—Conditions of the treaty—Proclamations—The British flag hoisted on Hong-Kong—Evacuation of Chusan—Conferences with Keeshen—Warlike preparations.

At this time much blame was attributed to Captain Elliot for the policy he pursued; and though it would be inconsistent with the character of this narrative of the events of the war, to indulge in any criticism of the acts of this or any one of the plenipotentiaries or commanders of the sea and land forces, it may be allowed to state here briefly the arguments advanced.

Hitherto the proceedings of Captain Elliot had been borne out by the peculiar character of the prevailing circumstances; and it may be assumed, that but for the sudden and unexpected change wrought in the sentiments of the emperor by the influence of the degraded Lin, and among the higher and better informed classes around him,

(an influence so strongly evinced in the edict of 5th January, 1841, in which he admits that the foreigners certainly appear violent and overbearing, and gives instructions that all petitions from them be in future utterly rejected,) the treaty of Ta-Koo might have been carried into full effect, with credit to the plenipotentiaries, and with honour to their country. The breach of it by the emperor could not have been anticipated; and in accordance with the position we were anxious to assume in our relations with his government, and with the dignity of character which it was our best policy to recognise, as an attribute of its imperial head, it would have been impossible for the representatives of the English crown to exact from the court of Pekin security for their good faith more binding among honourable nations than the word which was pledged through Keeshen, and through the imperial edict of 17th September, 1840, in which the appointment of the high commissioner is notified, and all governors and commanders of provinces ordered to observe the armistice concluded with the English.

But it may appear, on the other hand, that Captain Elliot's policy is open to reprehension, for that, under the yet unconquered guns of

Anunghoy, he should have acceded to the pacific desire of the very functionary who, whatever might have been his private sentiments, had been the ostensible agent in the deceit and contumely which had been practised upon her Britannic Majesty's plenipotentiaries, after the ample experience which he had gained in the south, of the little dependence which could be placed upon the imperial word, at a time when the British force was in a situation to enforce unconditional submission, and obtain ample security for future good faith.

On the 20th, Captain Elliot announced in an official circular, that he had concluded preliminary arrangements with the imperial commissioner, involving the following conditions, viz:—

1st. The cession of the island and harbour of Hong-Kong, in perpetuity, to the British crown;

2nd. An indemnity of six millions of dollars; one million payable at once, and the remainder in instalments, ending in 1846;

3rd. Direct official intercourse between the two countries, upon an equal footing;

4th. The trade of Canton to be opened within ten days after the Chinese new year;

and the plenipotentiary at the same time took occasion to point out, that it should be "remembered that no extent of modification resulting only from political intervention can be efficacious in the steady improvement of our condition, unless it be systematically seconded by conciliatory treatment of the people, and becoming deference for the country upon the threshold of which the British were about to be established."

The circular concluded with an allusion to the scrupulous good faith of Keeshen, and an assurance to the commercial community, that his excellency would use his utmost efforts with her Majesty's government, to secure an early and complete liquidation of their claims to indemnity. On the 29th, his excellency issued a further proclamation, notifying certain arrangements for the government of Hong-Kong, pending instructions from England; and on the 1st February, he addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants of the island, explaining the situation in which all would stand who thought fit to continue their residence therein.

The island was taken formal possession of on the 26th January, when, for the first time, the British flag was hoisted on it, under a royal

salute from the shipping in the harbour, his excellency having, on the 23rd, dispatched the Columbine brig, one of the fastest sailers in the fleet, with instructions to the senior naval and military officers in Chusan, to evacuate the island without delay, and repair at once to the harbour of Hong-Kong, to await further orders. Duplicates of these dispatches were also forwarded overland by the imperial express, to ensure their speedy arrival and the early evacuation of Chusan, Keeshen at the same time directing Eleepoo to release the prisoners confined at Ningpo, and deliver them over to the ship of war that would be sent to receive them.

On the 27th January, the plenipotentiary, accompanied by a numerous retinue, proceeded up the river in the Nemesis, to within a few miles of Whampoa, to hold by appointment a conference with Keeshen, in a pavilion which had been erected for the occasion at a point called Second Bar, where the party were received with every mark of respect and distinction, and entertained with good cheer and with honeyed and wily speeches enough to put to flight any doubts which might yet have remained in the mind of the plenipotentiary.

The scene is described by those who were pre-

sent at the banquet as very striking, and it would naturally be held as memorable by those who, in the space of one short month after the date of its occurrence, saw the same band of royal marines, whose fine appearance under arms elicited so much admiration from Keeshen and his colleagues, in mortal conflict with the defenders of Anunghoy and Wangtung. On his return from the conference, Captain Elliot issued a circular, to inform British subjects that, although negotiations were proceeding "satisfactorily," it became necessary to warn those who might purpose going to Canton, that until his excellency should declare that they might do so with safety, the whole risk and responsibility of their own proceedings must rest upon themselves.

On the 13th February, Captain Elliot had another interview with the imperial commissioner, but no direct result affecting the opening of the trade accrued therefrom, although the day agreed upon in the treaty had already passed. Rumours also now came in daily to the fleet, of large bodies of troops continually pouring into Canton, and of extensive preparations for defence being carried on upon the banks of the

river, while actual observation showed that the Chinese soldiery at Anunghoy and North Wangtung were taking the utmost advantage of the delay obtained for them by the cunning and tact of their astute commissioner—mounting additional guns, throwing up earthen entrenchments to cover the points accessible by boats, strengthening magazines, and, in a word, neglecting no precaution which their limited knowledge suggested to them. Another appeal to arms was now manifestly inevitable. A last unsuccessful effort, however, was made to extort from Keeshen some proof of the good faith for which he had received credit; and the Nemesis was dispatched to demand a written ratification of the Chuenpee treaty, and Captain Elliot at last, on receiving Captain Hall's unfavourable report, once more reluctantly ordered the resumption of hostilities.

CHAPTER XI.

Renewal of hostilities—Assembling of the fleet—Passage of the Canton river—North and South Wangtung—Bombardment—Naval arrangements—Flight of the Chinese—Treachery of the mandarins—Conflagration—Admiral Kwan—The Bogue forts demolished—A ship blown up—Sir Hugh Gough.

ACCORDINGLY, on the 20th February, Sir Gordon Bremer proceeded with the fleet to the vicinity of Anunghoy, from whence he had withdrawn on the adjustment of the treaty, by the terms of which Chuenpee was to be evacuated by the British forces, and re-occupied by those of the Chinese.

On the 23rd, the first blow was struck, by breaking up a strong force employed in obstructing the passage of a channel of the river at the back of Anunghoy, a service which was dashingly performed by a small force under the orders of Captain Herbert, consisting of the Nemesis and four pinnaces; the enemy's works, com-

prising a masked battery and field-work, were carried by the seamen and marines, and about eighty pieces of artillery of various calibre were spiked and untrunnioned without the loss of a man, while of the Chinese about thirty fell.

On the 25th, the fleet intended for the reduction of the Bogue forts was assembled near the island of South Wangtung, and a close reconnoissance having been made of the defences of the enemy, dispositions were made for the attack. Up to the present time the ordinary passage, by which vessels of any considerable burden entered the Canton River, was that between the islands of North and South Wangtung and the peak of Anunghoy, but it had been for some time known that a safe channel also existed to the westward, and no pains had been spared to render the latter as difficult and dangerous as possible, by bringing the fire of two formidable batteries of forty-five and forty guns, to bear upon it; the one constructed on the western extremity of North Wangtung, the other on the opposite, or right bank of the river. From Anunghoy a strong chain had been carried, right across the eastern passage, to a rocky point near a formidable battery, which had for years existed

on the eastern tongue of North Wangtung, where its end was made fast, the chain being held up to within a few feet of the surface of the water by means of a line of rafts.

About point blank distance from North Wangtung, to the southward, another island is situated, of less elevation than the former, but affording an admirable position for the establishment of a battery for enfilading the two powerful batteries on the east and west points of North Wangtung, and advantage was taken of so favourable a means for silencing their fire.

On the evening of the 25th, Captain Birdwood and the engineer officers, with a working party of Royal and Madras artillery and some seamen, covered by 150 men of the 37th Madras native infantry, marked out and erected a sandbag battery on a saddle in the middle of South Wangtung; and before daylight on the 26th, Captain (now Lieutenant-Colonel) Knowles had three howitzers in position, ready to open upon the works on the island, which the Chinese appeared to regard as the mainstay of their position. The working party suffered no loss, although the enemy's batteries fired heavily during the night, their shot passing mostly above the

site selected. In accordance with the arrangements directed by Sir G. Bremer, the howitzers, worked by gunners of the Royal and Madras detachments, opened their fire at daybreak, throwing their shells into the two low batteries on North Wangtung with great precision and effect, as also into an encampment which had been formed along the southern slope, protected in front by a sand-bag parapet which extended along the whole line, connecting the masonry forts or batteries, and having at intervals some pieces of artillery mounted behind embrasures cut in commanding situations.

Owing to a calm which fell soon after daybreak, and the great strength of the ebb tide, it was not until eleven o'clock that the leading ships of the fleet were able to move into the positions assigned to them, so that for the space of five hours nothing distracted the attention of the Chinese from the small battery of howitzers which played upon them; and it will convey some idea of their miserable deficiency in gunnery, to remark that during all that time, although many guns in the southern horns of the half-moon batteries on Wangtung bore upon it, not a single casualty occurred amongst Captain

Knowles' party. The naval arrangements were now carried out in an admirable manner; the Blenheim and Queen anchored close abreast of the great battery of Anunghoy, and the Melville, passing ahead of the Blenheim, dropped her anchor off the extremity of the fort, with her larboard-bow guns bearing on the eastern half-moon battery of Wangtung, and by noon the action on the eastern bank of the river had become general.

The Wellesley, Druid, and Modeste, entered the western channel, and anchored abreast of the battery on North Wangtung, which they engaged with their starboard broadsides, while shells and shot were thrown from their larboard 68-pounders against a fort situated on the opposite bank, behind which was an extensive encampment of troops. The advance squadron, in the meantime, consisting of the Calliope, Herald, Samarang, Alligator, &c., passed on to a position which they had been directed to take up to the northward of the Chinese defences, firing their starboard broadsides into the lower Wangtung battery as they passed. The firing had now become general on both sides; and the day being fine, and the wind strong enough to

clear away the smoke from the vessels and forts as fast as it arose, the spectacle presented was striking and impressive in no ordinary degree; the roar of the rapid broadsides of the shipping being echoed back in grand reverberations from the steep hills and the valleys which bound the celebrated passage of the Tiger's mouth.

After the cannonade had lasted about an hour, Sir Le F. Senhouse landed, under Anunghoy, with 300 seamen and marines, and carried the works with but little resistance, the Chinese flying so promptly, as to prevent much loss of life—only twenty dead being found in the fort after the firing had ceased. North Wangtung was carried in the same manner, by the detachment of all arms under Major Pratt, the Chinese troops, although fully 1500 in number, and in possession of several strongly intrenched positions, flying in the utmost disorder and panic when the British troops were seen approaching the shore. A great number were of course slaughtered, from the impossibility of putting a stop to the firing in the heat of an attack, but about 1000 men were taken unhurt, and immediately carried across the river in boats to the

nearest bank, doubtless very much to their own astonishment and mystification.

A pitiful instance was furnished here of the treacherous and cowardly character of some of the military mandarins, especially of those attached to the troops raised in the south, where their ostensible trade of war appears to be the last mode of employment contemplated by themselves. At the commencement of the engagement, four or five row-boats were observed to leave Wangtung, and pull away up the river, and to the surprise of our people in the ships, which were then bearing down to engage, a fire of matchlocks and swivels was immediately opened upon these boats by the Chinese, from the western fort, and continued until they were out of range, and the attention of the soldiery was called away to the more serious business of the day. It was afterwards ascertained that these boats, the only ones that had been retained at the landing-place of the island, had been used to bear away the principal officers of the troops stationed there, with their own immediate followers, from the scene of danger, and hence the contumely and revenge so unequivocally expressed towards them by the luckless garrison of

the forts which they had so ignominiously abandoned to their fate.

The whole line of the defences of the Bogue having now been carried, with the exception of the fort and encampment on the Tycocktow side of the river, the Nemesis was sent, at about four P.M., with some boats of the Wellesley, in tow, to expel the Chinese troops who appeared yet to cling to it as a last hope of resistance. But the severe lesson which they had seen their countrymen receive in the island and at Anunghoy, had had an effect too impressive to suffer them to dream of opposing their assailants, and upon the marines landing from the boats, and entering by the embrasures of the fort, they abandoned the encampment, and dispersed over the hills. The tents, stores, mandarins' houses, and other buildings, were then set on fire, and as the day closed in, the hills far and near reflected back the lurid glare of a conflagration which must have revealed to the surrounding population, many of whom witnessed the fight from the adjacent hills, the secret of the utter inability of their vaunted soldiery to withstand the prowess of the enemy they had held in contempt.

On the side of the British the loss was unaccountably small, while of the Chinese fully 500 must have fallen during the day; the proportion of mandarins being, however, but small. But there fell, on that day, one chief, near the gate of Anunghoy, bravely but vainly endeavouring, with a handful of men who still adhered to him, to resist the entrance of Sir Le F. Senhouse and his seamen—this was the valiant old Admiral Kwan, whose body was found amongst the slain, and recognised by the prisoners. The day after the action, a party of Chinese came with a coffin to remove it, and as the procession of the bearers and attendants moved from the spot where it had been deposited to the boat which was to convey it to its final resting-place, minute guns were fired from the Blenheim, and the Chinese ensign hoisted half-staff high, by order of Sir Le F. Senhouse.

Large parties of seamen were employed, under the direction of Lieutenant Johnston, of the Madras engineers, in destroying the long line of batteries at Anunghoy, and on the west bank of the river, for which the large quantity of powder found in the enemy's magazines furnished ample means, and in a very short space of time the

THE BOGUE FORTS.

imposing granite fortifications, which had so long been the pride and boast of the southern provinces, were crumbled into ruins.

In North Wangtung, it was decided that a garrison should be maintained, and its works were in consequence suffered to remain untouched, a detachment of troops and some guns being landed on the 28th, to occupy them. The greater part of the ordnance found, being next to useless, was either burst or thrown into the water, the trunnions being first knocked off, and the vents spiked.

While the 74-gun ships and transports remained at the Bogue for the demolition of the forts, the advanced squadron, under the command of Captain (now Sir Thomas) Herbert, of the Calliope, proceeded up the river with the steamers, to attack a strong position which the enemy had taken up at Second Bar, where a strong raft had been constructed from bank to bank, flanked on one side by the guns of an extensive intrenchment, in which 2000 troops were posted; and on the other, by the battery of the Cambridge, the ship which had been purchased by the Chinese for warlike purposes, before the arrival of the expedition.

The attack which took place on the 27th, was in all respects successful, and the enemy were driven from their intrenchments with considerable loss; the raft was cut through and destroyed, and the Cambridge boarded and taken, and afterwards set on fire, when she blew up with a report, to use the words of the despatch, "which must have been heard at Canton."

Capt. Herbert's squadron anchored at Whampoa Reach, and on the 2nd March, the Sulphur, with a division of boats pushing on in advance, was engaged in a sharp encounter with a masked battery on the north-east end of Whampoa island, which was carried by the boats, after a respectable resistance. Howqua's fort or folly was next occupied, and the Herald, Alligator, Modeste, and Sulphur, came to anchor in the stream between the fort and Napier's island; and on the 3rd, a circular was issued, announcing that the plenipotentiary had, on that day, received a visit from the kwang-chow-foo, and that there was a suspension of hostilities. About this time also, his excellency's resources were considerably augmented by the arrival from Madras of Major-General Sir Hugh Gough, K.C.B., who had been directed by the governor-

general of India (upon the requisition of the plenipotentiaries for a general officer of experience) to proceed to China, and assume the command of the land forces serving with the combined expedition. Sir Hugh's great experience in the campaigns of Europe, and the distinguished reputation which his gallantry in the fields of the Peninsula had so justly obtained, well qualified him for the charge to which he had been elected.

CHAPTER XII.

The destruction of the enemy's works—Suspension of hostilities—Passage of the Broadway—First sight of a steam-vessel—Prisoners from Ningpo—Quitting Chusan—Imperial edict—Keeshen disgraced—Murder of Captain Stead—Indignation of the British—New rumours of war—The crisis.

On the 7th March, appeared an announcement from Captain Elliot that he had been again deceived, and that the armistice having expired, Napier's fort and some works in advance had been occupied. Other operations were shortly after undertaken, which resulted in the seizure and destruction of all the enemy's works on the banks of the river, as far as the factories of Canton, and on those of the great branch called the Macao passage, by which ships of considerable draught can proceed to within two miles of the city.

On the 6th, when the armistice expired, and hostilities were resumed, although the British advance squadron was at anchor off Napier's

island, not twelve miles from the factories, it was not until the 18th that the last fortified post, the Dutch Folly, had fallen before the British arms; however, during the whole of the operations, not one man was killed on the side of the invaders, and only one died of his wounds.

On the 20th, his excellency officially announced that a suspension of hostilities had been agreed upon between the imperial commissioner Yang and himself. His excellency had stipulated for the continuance of ships of war in the neighbourhood of the factories; the port of Canton was once more opened, it being declared that all who might proceed there for the lawful purposes of trade should be duly protected, but that no objection would be offered on the part of the British authorities to the like liabilities for the introduction of prohibited merchandise or smuggling duly proved which would follow such offences in England, detention of the person, and penal consequences of all kinds excepted. This was to be proclaimed to the people, under the seals of the commissioner Yang, and of the governor of the province; and on the same day an edict appeared, in which the people were reminded of the good pleasure of the celes-

tial court, that all should cherish tenderly men from afar, and directed to oppose no obstruction, and create no trouble in the way of the trade, which was now to be carried on as before.

About this time, too, an edict was proclaimed, appointing Yihshan generalissimo and "rebel queller," and Yang to be assistant minister, in the room of Keeshen, who was degraded and recalled to Pekin. Before the conclusion of this treaty, a series of successful operations, in which the Nemesis was prominent, had taken place in the passage of the Broadway, which forms a back or western communication between Macao and Whampoa, and through which the little steamer, with a small flotilla of boats in tow, made her way on the 12th and 13th, in spite of the shallowness of the water in many parts, and of the narrowness of the channel, which often made it necessary to force her bows into the bank and sedges on one side, in order to clear her heel from the dry ground on the other. At every favourable point, well constructed batteries were found to dispute her passage, and in the many gallant dashes made to carry them, no fewer than 105 pieces of cannon were taken and destroyed between Macao and the posts of de-

fence nearest to Whampoa, and nine junks were seized and burnt. The Broadway, until this stirring visit of the Nemesis, had never been entered by a British vessel, and, indeed, it had been regarded as accessible only by vessels of the lightest draught.

The astonishment of the Chinese who dwelt in the villages along its banks, at the sight of a gigantic vessel moving, independent of wind and tide, close to the doors and windows of their dwellings, may hence be conceived. Consequent upon the proclamation of the plenipotentiary, there appeared a memorandum under the authority of the commodore, announcing his permission for British and foreign vessels to proceed up the river as far as the ordinary anchorage at Whampoa, and further certifying that all consequences arising from the possible resumption of hostilities, however sudden, must rest upon the parties who might choose to encounter the risk. Several gentlemen availed themselves of this opportunity, but few were disposed to trust the assurances of the Chinese, that the good understanding which had been brought about with the Canton authorities would become the foundation of a lasting and beneficial peace.

The violent inflammatory edicts of Eleang, the lieutenant-governor of Canton, who had received Keeshen's seals of office, on the degradation of that functionary, the style of the emperor's address, upon receiving Keeshen's version of the fall of Chuenpee and Tycocktow, and the opinions which seemed general amongst the Chinese of the south, all tended to create doubts as to the continuance of tranquillity. During the early part of this month, the fleet and the late garrison of Chusan, in pursuance of the orders sent to them, arrived in two divisions, bringing the prisoners from Ningpo, whose safety, as it afterwards appeared would have been seriously compromised, had their confinement been continued many days longer, when an edict arrived from Pekin, directing Eleepoo on no account to surrender them, but to take summary vengeance upon several of their number, especially marking Captain (now Major) Anstruther, as an object of peculiar detestation to his imperial majesty, and as the first to be selected for an example of the celestial anger. It appeared that after the arrival of Eleepoo at Ningpo, in the capacity of viceroy of the province, the treatment of the prisoners, which,

until then, had been very wretched, perceptibly improved. Many acts of kindness and good feeling were exhibited towards them, to which previously all, save Captain Anstruther, had been strangers; and that officer was indebted to his own happy disposition and power of pleasing, and to his skill with the pencil, more than to the generosity of the mandarins of Ningpo, for the extraordinary degree of favour (usually exhibited in the form of choice dishes and rare samples of samshoo) with which he was treated. All were glad to turn their backs upon Chusan, and the poor soldiers of the Cameronians, and 49th regiments, as their last companies quitted the shores, where so many of their comrades had found premature graves, could not refrain from giving three cheers of thankfulness at their release from the hateful spot which they were looking upon, they believed, for the last time. After the arrangement of the armistice at Canton, the fleet, with the exception of the few light craft of Captain Herbert's squadron, which were left to protect and watch the factories, together with all the transports, save those which had furnished the garrison for North Wangtung, dropped down the river once more,

and returned to Hong-Kong, where Sir Hugh Gough lost no time in remodelling and re-organizing the small force, reduced as it now was by the number of invalids whom it had been found necessary to send to India and to Europe, and by the departure of the regiment of Bengal volunteers from Chusan to Singapore direct. Towards the latter end of the month, the Melville, having completed her term of service, sailed for England, as did also the Samarang, the Madagascar steamer being, at the same time, sent to Calcutta with despatches for the Governor-General, followed shortly by the Queen, bearing the broad pennant of Sir G. Bremer, who considered it advisable to confer with him upon the subject of the extensive operations in China, which appeared now to be unavoidable. Early in April, an edict was received from Pekin, conveying the sentiments of the emperor upon the subject of the capture and destruction of the Bogue forts, breathing the direst vengeance against the audacious rebels, whose utter extermination he enjoined upon all his officers and functionaries; declaring, in the most emphatic terms, that both powers could not stand under the same heaven, and that one of the two must forthwith perish.

Upon the luckless Keeshen the full weight of the imperial vengeance fell, in spite of a most able memorial, in which he faithfully unfolded all the causes which had led to the discomfiture—describing the glaring defects of both forts and guns, and the utter inefficiency of the troops which the emperor had sent for the protection of Canton, to cope with the barbarians; more especially upon the tumbling sea, where the superiority of the foreign ships was so glaringly manifest. The edict announced the degradation of Keeshen, both from his situation as imperial commissioner in the south, and from his post as third member of the Nuy-Ko, or imperial cabinet. His property was declared confiscate, and he was commanded to repair without delay to Pekin, there to be handed over to the board of punishments, to be tried for the traitorous offences he had committed against his enlightened employer! Every document circulated in the north, every edict addressed to governors and generals in charge of exposed sea-ports, breathed hatred, defiance, and war inextinguishable, against the race of contumacious barbarians, while, at the same time, authentic intelligence was received of extensive defences in active progress in

Chusan, and at Chinhae and Amoy; also of a ruthless outrage perpetrated on Captain Stead, of the Pestonjee transport, which, having come from London direct to Chusan, had entered the port, in ignorance of its evacuation, when, landing on Kittow Point, for supplies, he was murdered by the villagers, instigated to the act by soldiers who were mingled with them, and encouraged by the promise of a high reward for the head of any British subject.

At Canton, nevertheless, things went on for a time quietly: the trade was resumed; native dealers and shopkeepers, who had fled from the city on the appearance of the British squadron off "Dutch Folly," now returned, and resumed their occupations. Many of the British merchants returned to their own hongs, and the factories began to wear the air of bustle and business which had marked them of old. On the 5th, Captain Elliot returned to Canton, and resided in the hall of the British hong until the 17th, before which date he received, through the prefect of the district, the most satisfactory assurance, that the recent convention was approved by the new commissioners, Yihshan and Lungwan, who made their entry into Canton on the

14th. During all this time, the British squadrons lay in the middle of the stream, abreast of the factories, and a guard of marines was continually on duty in the British hong, an appearance of semi-hostility, against whose effects it was thought advisable to soothe the excited feelings of the people by a proclamation, in the name of the plenipotentiary, clearly declaring that the reports of further warlike preparations against the city were false and mischievous. The news of the cowardly murder of Captain Stead caused a deep feeling of indignation and excitement amongst the British, and Captain Elliot immediately dispatched the Columbine to the government of the Che-Kiang province, demanding instant redress. All intercourse, however, with the brig, was refused at Chusan, and she returned to Hong-Kong, having only succeeded in ascertaining the truth of the outrage at Kittow Point, and also the fact of the extensive line of defences which the Chinese were actively engaged upon at Chusan. Thousands of workmen were busily employed in throwing up batteries and intrenchments along the whole front of the valley in which Tinghae is situated; and the suburb in which the winter

quarters of the force had been established appeared to have been transformed into a strong post of defence, its wharf-line presenting already a substantial rampart.

Towards the middle of April, rumours in Canton gave warning of the storm, which the majority of the British and other foreign residents had already expected, and prepared themselves against. Troops arrived in strong bodies from the north, almost daily, and the Chinese townsmen evinced their distrust, by once more withdrawing their merchandise and other property from their shops, and forsaking the suburban part of the city.

Captain Elliot still continued at Hong-Kong, completing his arrangements for the government and colonization of the island, during his absence in the north, whither it was now decided that the main portion of the force should proceed, to destroy the fortifications of Amoy, and to resume possession of Chusan. Large shipments of teas were in the meantime made, chiefly to England; and from a desire to avoid any measures which might interrupt the transmission of the usual year's supply of this indispensable commodity, the plenipotentiary had hitherto

refrained from taking serious notice of the warlike preparations and threatening appearances which occupied the anxious attention of all her Majesty's subjects at this eventful period. Considerable reinforcements, also, being expected from Calcutta, in consequence of the representations personally made by Sir Gordon Bremer to the governor-general, it was advisable, in the then unsettled and precarious state of affairs at Canton, that the departure of the expedition should be delayed until it was in the power of Sir Hugh Gough to leave at Hong-Kong a force sufficiently strong to protect the infant colony against any hostile attempts which might be made by its former capricious and unscrupulous possessors.

The crisis, however, came on more rapidly than had been calculated upon, and a visit which Captain Elliot paid to Canton, on the 11th, on which occasion he had an interview with the kwang-chow-foo, satisfied him that the hour had arrived when it became his duty to put forth the whole of his strength, in order to bring the quarrel to an early conclusion.

CHAPTER XIII.

Preparations for fortifying Canton—The Blenheim up the Macao passage—Fire-rafts—The Shaming battery—The Nemesis in peril—Plunder of the factories—Landing the troops—The Queen's birthday—Forts at Tsinghae—Engagement—Mode of attack—Consternation at Canton—Proposals for peace—The British and Chinese forces—Result of the negotiation—Payment of the ransom.

IMMEDIATELY on his return, the whole of the force, with the exception of the Druid, and small garrisons at Hong-Kong and North Wangtung, moved on the 19th, and passed the Bogue on the 20th, where they ascertained that large bodies of troops were continually pouring into Canton; that guns were mounted in temporary batteries along the wharfs of the suburbs, and at the ends of streets and lanes leading to the water's edge. Posts had also, it was represented, been established in various joss-houses and stores along the banks of the river, and in several public buildings contiguous to the foreign fac-

tories, while at all hours of the day soldiers, with their matches lighted, were encountered in the same neighbourhood. Fire-rafts were preparing in the creeks above Shaming, and large flotillas of war-boats had been collected, well manned and armed, for the ostensible object of making a descent upon the light squadron of Captain Herbert, which lay at anchor off the factories. Under the influence of the alarm naturally excited by these threatening appearances, the inhabitants of the city and suburb fled in crowds from the scene of danger, many of the foreign merchants also removing their books and valuable effects on board ship, and the few who continued to reside on shore, keeping themselves in constant readiness to escape from their precarious shelter in the British hongs.

On the 21st May, Sir Le F. Senhouse took the Blenheim up the Macao passage, until within six miles of the city, where her anchor was let go, and she then formed a magnificent *point d'appui* for all operations ; and on the 22nd, the whole force had assembled in the Macao passage, and on the following morning the two chiefs of the combined forces proceeded to Canton, to reconnoitre the enemy's preparations for

defence, and to confer with Captain Elliot as to his intentions in the event of extreme measures against the city becoming unavoidable. Previous to their visit, however, the plenipotentiary had recommended all her Britannic Majesty's subjects to retire from the factories before sunset on the 21st, all that had come to his excellency's knowledge having led to the conviction, that the assurances of the municipal authorities of Canton, and more especially of Yu, the acting kwang-chow-foo, (in a proclamation which he caused to be posted in the British factories and throughout the city,) to the effect that the persons and goods of all foreign merchants ran no risk whatever, had been made solely with a view to gain time, and to lull the British into a false security.

On the night of the 21st, a number of fire-rafts were sent adrift upon the cutter Louisa and schooner Aurora, on board the latter of which the few mercantile gentlemen who had still lingered in the factories had taken refuge. As the rafts bore down in burning masses, the flashes of guns were seen along the suburb, from the great Shaming battery, as far as the Creek factory, near the renowned "Hog-lane," the

shot from which hissed around the vessels in a storm, which, had it been better directed, must have annihilated them, as they were for a long time unable to get out of range, owing to the strength of the tide and the want of wind.

The Modeste, Pylades, and Algerine, which were lying at anchor in the Macao passage, ran alongside the batteries, and engaged them with as good effect as the uncertain light would permit, while the boats of the Herald, which came up the river from Napier's Reach, towed the fire-rafts clear of danger to the ships. The Nemesis shortly after pushed close in to the Shaming battery, which was thundering upon the squadron with guns by no means badly served; and under cover of this, favoured by a slant of wind and a slackening tide, the Louisa and Aurora escaped the threatened destruction, and anchored in the mouth of the Macao passage.

The Nemesis, meanwhile, was carrying on a singular contest with the Shaming battery; for her bow-gun having a false tube jammed into the vent, had become for a short time unserviceable; her rudder had got foul, and would not work so as to bring her stern-gun into play,

and a rocket, laid in the tube at a critical moment, when the steamer was exposed to a heavy fire, was some time before it could be discharged, and in exploding it severely wounded Captain Hall, who fired it himself. In this momentary extremity, the marines were ordered to fire at the embrasures, which were distinguishable in the darkness by the flashes of the guns in their recesses, a service which was performed with such steadiness and effect, that the fire of the battery was all but silenced, and time gained to clear the forward gun, and get the steamer again into fighting order.

In the morning her funnel and paddle-boxes were found to be riddled with balls, yet, as usual, the casualties among her crew were trifling ; and when day had dawned, the Shaming battery having been deserted or silenced, she pushed up the river, with the boats of the squadron in tow, and entirely destroyed a large flotilla of thirty-nine war junks and boats, which was observed lying under the shelter of some large warehouses on the side of the river. The Chinese mob, meanwhile, finding the factories deserted, and the attention of their own soldiery engrossed with the danger in their front, entered the square in

front of the British and American hongs, and began a work of destruction and plunder, which, in a short time, converted the handsome and well-furnished residences of the foreign merchants into a mass of unsightly ruins. Guided, doubtless, by men who had held posts in the establishments of merchants in the factories, the rabble penetrated to the treasuries and cellars of the different wealthy firms which had occupied particular hongs, and finding the hoards of dollars which they had marked as their prey removed, they dashed to pieces, in the fury of their disappointment, everything of value within their reach. Several valuable stores of cloths, woollens, &c., were, however, discovered, and a gang of ruffians soon issued from the square, laden with the rich spoil.

After having been in possession of the factories about two hours, they were dislodged by a strong detachment of Chinese troops, who forthwith completed the work of plunder in which the mob had been interrupted. The handsome hall of the British factory, with its beautiful decorations of pier glasses, pictures, marble flooring, chandeliers, &c., was literally gutted, as also the hall used as a chapel.

The mask being now fairly thrown off, the general and commodore lost no time in bringing the whole of their forces to bear upon the point most favourable for a decisive blow at the city. The plan was to land the troops some distance above the city, clear of the suburb, and performing a slight circuit, attack some forts which crowned several eminences commanding the ramparts near the north-west angle, where a wooded height seemed to afford cover enough for a strong division of men, and an admirable position for a battery to play upon the town. Captain Belcher, of the Starling, was selected to ascertain, as a preliminary step, the feasibility of towing vessels or boats from the entrance of the Macao passage across the river to the mouth of a creek to the westward of the town, which service was well performed, in spite of a determined opposition to the advance of the flotilla which supported the *reconnoissance;* and Captain Belcher having obtained a good view of the adjacent country, by hoisting himself to the top of a junk's mast, returned to the commodore's ship with the satisfactory intelligence, that the troops might be landed without danger or difficulty up the creek, and that the ground between

the point of debarkation and the forts presented no serious obstacle to the passage of troops and guns. He brought with him a number of excellent decked passage-boats, capable of holding 2000 troops, and reported that he had set on fire and destroyed a fleet of twenty-eight war junks and row boats.

On the 24th May, the birthday of our gracious Queen, after a royal salute had been fired from all the ships of the squadron, the troops and guns, with their ammunition and some rockets, having been put into the boats collected by Captain Belcher, started for the creek, towed by the Nemesis ; and as they passed the Aurora, were loudly cheered by the merchants and others on board. The force was divided into two columns, of which the right, under Major (now Lieut.-Colonel) Pratt, of the 26th regiment, was directed to land and occupy the factories, and to be guided by the circumstances which might arise as to their future operations. The left column landed at the village of Tsinghae, under the command of Major-General Burrell, and marched on the morning of the 25th in the direction of the heights already selected as the first point of attack. The forts by which they were crowned

were four in number; and though not remarkable for strength individually, formed as a whole a formidable position, as the advance to each was well swept by the walls of the city, or by rising ground which flanked them. Some guns and howitzers having, through most extraordinary exertion on the part of the artillery, been brought up and placed in position, within 300 to 400 yards of the forts, a heavy fire was opened upon them at about eight A.M., which was returned with considerable spirit for about an hour, when the columns of attack having been formed, the advance was sounded, and the whole of the forts carried at the point of the bayonet.

The resistance was at first strenuous, the Chinese troops in some instances even advancing outside the walls, as if to dispute the progress of our troops on equal ground, but none stood the approach of the bayonet long enough to admit of personal conflict, and the slaughter was in consequence inconsiderable. As soon as the forts had fallen, the Chinese garrison opened upon them a heavy fire from their rampart guns and ginjalls, along the whole northern face of the city, and so well-directed and steadily sustained was it, that the British forces, while in

occupation of this position, suffered greater loss than had been inflicted in the course of the operations by which the forts had been carried. At the point gallantly carried by Captain Bourchier's naval brigade the fire was particularly fatal, several officers and men having here fallen, killed or wounded. The small quantity of ammunition brought up was soon expended; and the fire on both sides slackened towards evening, and ceased at nightfall, leaving the British in possession of the whole chain of heights which command the city on the north-east face, and masters of a formidable entrenched camp a short distance to the eastward, which had been carried in the morning by the 18th and 49th regiments, though not without considerable loss both of men and officers, including a brave and zealous lieutenant of engineers, Mr. Rundall.

The want of ammunition prevented Sir Hugh Gough from undertaking any operation beyond occasional demonstrations upon the place on the day succeeding that of the attack on the heights, which was employed in bringing up cartridges and shot, as well as additional nine-pounders and howitzers, from the landing place near the mouth of the creek; and so strenuous were the

exertions of the artillery, that before nightfall fifteen pieces were in position before the walls, with an ample supply of shot and shells, and some few carcases and rockets. The mode of attack was obvious, as almost immediately opposite the fort which formed the left of the British position, within the city walls, was a commanding hill, crowned by a joss-house and other buildings, which, when in possession of the British, would place the city at their mercy. The attack was in consequence directed chiefly against this hill, one column being ordered to enter by escalade near a high building situated close to the ramparts inside the city, while another made a detour to the north gate, and entered by blowing it open: the two were then to unite in a general advance upon the hill, where the guns were to be planted, and farther measures taken as circumstances might dictate. But the delay occasioned by the want of ammunition, and the difficulty of bringing up guns over the broken ground which intervened between the British position and the place of debarkation, crossed as the line of communication was by levels of swampy paddy land and knolls covered with Chinese tombs and grave-

HEIGHTS OF CANTON.

stones, frustrated the expectations of the force; for when upon the point of giving the signal for the artillery to open upon the parapets, a messenger arrived from the plenipotentiary, who had remained on board the Calliope, with a dispatch for Sir Hugh Gough and Sir Le F. Senhouse, acquainting them that hostilities were again suspended, the commissioners and the governor of Canton having proposed terms which his excellency had been induced to accept, in order to spare the assault of the town. At the same time the Chinese were seen crowding on the walls, hoisting white flags and making demonstrations of amity and peace.

After the fall of the advanced forts, and the near approach of the British troops toward the walls, the most terrible consternation appears to have seized the inhabitants of the city, who, until they saw the enemy within musket-shot of their defences, had not abandoned all confidence in their garrison; but from this time the utmost confusion prevailed, heightened by several desperate encounters between the provincial troops and those of the northern districts, which had recently arrived to reinforce the place; and in this frightful exigency Yih-shan dispatched

the kwang-chow-foo to the vessel in which the plenipotentiary had established his head-quarters, to negotiate an armistice and to prevent the assault, upon the best terms he could obtain. These were announced by Captain Elliot, in the communication received by the naval and military commanders-in-chief, and were in substance as follows :—

1st. It is required that the three imperial commissioners, and all the troops other than those of the province, quit the city within six days, and proceed to a distance of upwards of sixty miles.

2nd. Six millions of dollars to be paid in one week, for the use of the crown of England, counting from the 27th May ; one million payable before sunset of the 27th.

3rd. For the present the British troops to remain in their actual positions : no additional preparation on either side. If the whole sum agreed upon be not paid within seven days, it shall be increased to seven millions ; if not within fourteen days, to eight millions ; if not within twenty days, to nine millions. When the whole shall have been paid, the British forces to return with-

out the Bocca Tigris; and Wangtung, and all fortified places within the river, to be restored, but not to be re-armed till affairs are settled between the two nations.

4th. Losses occasioned by the destruction of the factories, and of the Spanish brig Bilbaino, to be paid within one week.

5th. It is required that the kwang-chow-foo shall produce full power to conclude these arrangements on the part of the three commissioners, the governor-general, the general of the garrison, and the fooyen, having their excellencies' seals.

These terms were much criticised at the time, and have since afforded matter for warm discussion amongst those who, from long acquaintance with the peculiar tribe who inhabit the Canton province, could not but anticipate with the deepest interest and anxiety the completest humiliation to a city, whose gates had ever been inhospitably closed against them. The humbling of the provincial capital was deemed incomplete; and it was contended that, in consideration of the extreme provocation which the treachery of the Chinese authorities and the arrogance of the people had caused, no terms of accommodation

should have been listened to, until the British flag had been planted on the ramparts of the hitherto inviolate city.

But the considerations which influenced Captain Elliot were of great weight, and may be thus stated. The total numerical strength of the force under arms before Canton, on the morning of the 27th May, did not exceed 2200 men of all arms, while within the city there were not less than 20,000 men, after making a very large allowance for exaggerations by the "confidential agents,"—fearful odds to be encountered in the pent-up space of a closely built city, where a knowledge of the localities would have given the Chinese abundant opportunity to molest our troops. Sickness, consequent upon the dreadful weather to which the troops were exposed, as well as disorder from the temptations of plunder and intoxicating liquors, which would have beset them on every side, were also much to be dreaded in any prolonged occupation of the city; and though the avowed confidence of Sir Hugh Gough in the discipline of his officers and men was great and well founded, yet it must be admitted, that his excellency's position *in terrorem*, within an assaulted but yet unconquered city,

filled with a rancorous and vindictive populace, and opposed in front by a regular force, and in rear by the armed population of the surrounding villages, would have been a most difficult one to maintain, without the risk of a loss which, with the small force at his command, would have been fatal. It should, moreover, be borne in mind, that in the confusion which a bombardment of the town would have created, all public order must have been overthrown, and in all probability the greater part of the city destroyed by fire, and its treasuries plundered by the mob.

It appears now to be generally admitted, that the course pursued by Captain Elliot was, under the circumstances, the most judicious which could have been adopted. The leaders, and the force generally, were much chagrined at their withdrawal to without the Bocca Tigris, but this was a necessary condition of the ransom of the city of Canton.

The troops remained in position before the walls whilst the delivery of the ransom money was going on, and Captain Elliot having, after a lapse of four days, notified to the commander-in-chief, that five millions had been paid, and the remainder accounted for in proper securities,

the force was re-embarked, and dropped down the river to the Bogue, where the detachments of infantry and artillery which formed the garrison of North Wangtung were received on board, and conveyed to the general rendezvous at Hong-Kong.

CHAPTER XIV.

Large assemblage of Chinese villagers—A severe conflict—Bravery of the sepoys—Perilous situation—A rescue—Return to quarters—New hostile demonstrations—Submission to the authority of the mandarins—Death of Sir Le F. Senhouse—His funeral.

BEFORE, however, the British troops had evacuated their position on the heights, the inhabitants of the surrounding villages, bearing arms and standards in considerable numbers, began, on the day succeeding the commencement of the armistice, to assemble in heavy and threatening masses, upon a range of low hills to the westward of the city, excited, it is believed, by inflammatory addresses and placards, circulated among them by influential members of the patriotic gentry of the province, and further, it is to be feared, infuriated by some excesses perpetrated by stragglers from the British outposts. Their object soon became evident; and as it was

observed that strong bodies were being detached to their front, preparatory to an attack on the British position, some companies of the 49th and 37th Madras native infantry and Bengal volunteers, together with a wing of the Cameronian regiment, which had been brought by water from the factories on the day of the declaration of armistice, advanced against the line which these irregulars had formed. A few volleys of musketry dispersed them, and the British troops, contenting themselves with the destruction of a village in which the enemy had taken post, and of some magazines and stores of arms and provisions found in the neighbourhood, were about to retire, when a body of 5000 to 6000 strong was seen descending the opposite heights, and advancing in a determined manner towards the post from which they had been driven by our attack in the early part of the day.

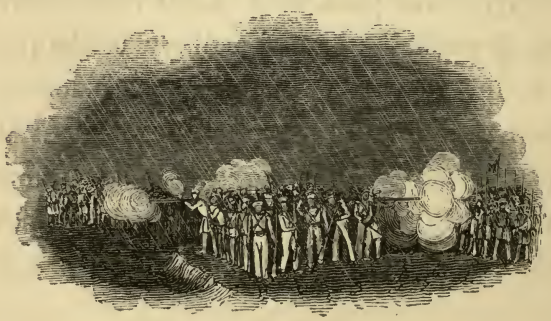
The weather had up to this time been fearfully oppressive. Major Becher, deputy quarter-master-general, died of a coup de soleil, and many men had fallen from utter exhaustion, when it suddenly changed—the sky became overcast, and a thunder-storm came on. Some rockets were thrown among the advancing masses

of the enemy, but their movement was not for a moment checked, and it became necessary to direct a general charge of the whole British line to repel them. This was, of course, successful; and as soon as the enemy had been dispersed and put to flight at all points, the General, finding the rain descending in torrents, and every appearance of a tempestuous night, directed a retreat towards the heights occupied by the main body of the army. The muskets of the troops being all furnished with flint locks, had, of course, by this time, become utterly useless, and as the various detachments drew off from the scene of the late conflict, without further attempt to molest them, the Chinese, gathering upon the rear and flanks of the column, harassed them in the most resolute and spirited manner, closing upon the bayonets of the men, and engaging them hand to hand whenever an advantageous opportunity presented itself, as in crossing a stream, or defiling through lanes and village streets. The rain continued pouring in torrents, and owing to the density of the mist which now covered the face of the country, a company of the 37th Madras native infantry, between fifty and sixty strong, which had been detached

from the regiment, to keep up a communication with the left of the line, while the 26th regiment was engaged, became separated from the main body on the retreat, and having missed the 26th, which had already obeyed the order to fall back, found themselves unexpectedly in front of a formidable body of Chinese, who were pressing forward on the retiring column. The company was commanded by an experienced officer, Lieutenant (now Major) Hadfield, supported by two subalterns, Devereux and Berkeley; and, confident in the energy and bravery of their officers, the sepoys, although unable to fire a single musket, ignorant of the direction taken by their regiment, encompassed by wet paddy fields and swampy ground, and almost surrounded by a multitude of enraged enemies, never for a moment showed the slightest symptom of wavering, but maintained their discipline, and obeyed the orders of their officers with the most inflexible steadiness and promptitude. Retreating along the narrow banks of earth by which the paddy fields are separated into levels, and forming, wherever the ground gave space for their pursuers to collect in a mass, this devoted little band succeeded in making their way towards

the heights, as far as the village, whose possession had been so warmly contested in the morning. Darkness having now set in, and the storm appearing to increase, and many of the men, and one officer, Ensign Berkeley, having been cut down or wounded, Lieutenant Hadfield, foreseeing the impracticability of effecting a safe retreat with his wounded, until daylight should point out the path, formed his men in square, and resolved to keep the Chinese at bay with the bayonet, in the best manner he could, during the anxious period of night, which yet remained to be passed. The sepoys in the meantime contrived to clean out some of their firelocks with rags torn from their turbans and shirts, and loading them under cover of their caps, handed them to their officers, who picked out a forward man amongst the enemy sufficiently often to deter them from closing. Before an hour, however, had elapsed, the Chinese were observed bringing a small piece of artillery to the front, and fixing its clumsy carriage upon a low eminence so close to the devoted detachment that every discharge, pointed even by rude and unaccustomed hands, must have produced fearful havoc in its ranks. A change of position now became

unavoidable, and Lieutenant Hadfield was about to direct the movement, when well-known shouts were heard in the distance, hailing the lost company of the 37th. They were joyfully re-echoed by the sepoys, and in a few minutes the leading files of two companies of Royal marines were distinguished through the gloom, advancing towards their almost hopeless position. It need not be told with what hearty welcome their European comrades were greeted by the sepoys, who had so gallantly done their duty, and upheld their high reputation. In another minute the marines had formed; and a destructive volley, poured into the crowded ranks of the Chinese, at the distance of a few paces, speedily swept away the astonished pursuers, and taught our own people, in a manner the most impressive, the value of the admirable weapons, the percussion muskets, with which the marines were armed.



The troops shortly afterwards returned to their quarters in the forts and villages near the heights, and the night was passed without further alarm or molestation on the part of the irregulars; but on the following morning they were seen collecting in strong bodies, on the hills to the northward and westward, and, as many banners were displayed in their ranks, and a firing of guns and ginjalls was heard, Sir H. Gough sent a messenger into the city, to inform the authorities that if any further hostile demonstrations were made upon his position, he should at once haul down the white flag, and resume hostilities against the town itself, especially as, from the fact of between 7000 and 8000 men of the garrison having that morning marched out of Canton, by the north-west gate, in pursuance of the stipulation to that effect in the treaty, there was reason to suspect that a portion of these men had faithlessly united themselves to the irregulars, and were contemplating an attack.

During the whole day their numbers continued to increase until about three P.M., when from 10,000 to 12,000 men appeared formed on the hills, and preparing for a forward movement. At

this time the kwang-chow-foo of Canton arrived on the field, and assuring the commander-in-chief that the assemblage in the rear of his position had not been sanctioned by the authorities, and that it had arisen solely with a view to protect the extensive villages in the neighbourhood from plunder and injury, offered to dispatch a mandarin of rank to disperse the people, provided a British officer accompanied him. Captain Moore, the deputy judge-advocate of the force, having volunteered to escort the Chinese officer, proceeded across the plain towards the enemy's position. They appeared at first disposed to resist the mandarin's order to disperse, but after a short discussion which he held with their leaders, they began to break up, and, to the surprise of the spectators on the opposite heights, in the course of half an hour had almost entirely disappeared; showing, by their docility and submission to the kwang-chow-foo's deputy, that notwithstanding the discomfiture and disgrace which they had seen inflicted on the troops of the garrison which should have protected them, the power of the mandarins was yet unimpaired.

The total loss of the British during this series

of operations, in killed, wounded, and missing, fell short of 130 men. This includes the casualties in Captain Bourchier's naval brigade, while, on the part of the Chinese, according to representations made to the commander-in-chief, 500 men had been killed, and 1500 wounded on the 25th May alone, the day on which the forts on the heights had been carried; and on the 30th, and during the engagements with the irregulars, not less than double those numbers had fallen. There is, however, reason to doubt the accuracy of this statement, and to believe that the loss of the enemy was much exaggerated.

Shortly after the return of the force to the Bay of Hong-Kong, a serious and most deeply deplored loss was experienced by her Majesty's service, in the death, by fever, of Sir Le F. Senhouse, the officer upon whom had devolved the entire charge of the naval portion of the expedition, during the combined attack on Canton, and who, in the conduct of all operations connected with his branch of the force, especially in his admirable arrangements for the conveyance of the army to the place of their debarkation, had displayed a judgment, zeal, and energy, which

had earned for him the respect and admiration of all who shared in the enterprise. The remains of the veteran were conveyed to Macao, from the Blenheim, on board of which he had breathed his last, and were interred in the Protestant burial-ground of that settlement, attended by the plenipotentiary, the commander-in-chief, the governor of Macao, and a vast retinue of officers from Hong-Kong, and of friends from among the mercantile community, by whom the high qualities which had distinguished him had been justly appreciated.

CHAPTER XV.

Recall of Captain Elliot—Government of Hong-Kong—Claims of the Canton merchants—Sickness at Hong-Kong—Typhoons—Arrival of Sir Henry Pottinger and Sir William Parker—The royal commission—Caution to the merchants—Port dues—Refusal of an interview with a mandarin—Appointments in Hong-Kong.

At this period the British ministry recalled Captain Elliot, and appointed in his place Sir Henry Pottinger, Colonel in the service of the East India Company, an officer whose reputation as a skilful and firm diplomatist had been established by the able and successful manner in which he had, at a recent period, conducted the political relations of the government of India with the Ameers of Scinde, and in former years by his arrangement of matters of business, generally of a political character, with which he had been intrusted in the north-western provinces of the Anglo-Indian empire.

About the same time, also, Rear-Admiral Sir

William Parker was appointed to the command of the East India and China station, vacant by the death of Vice-Admiral Sir Frederick Maitland, and the two new functionaries quitted England for the scene of their future command in May.

The month of June was employed by Captain Elliot in making municipal arrangements for the government of Hong Kong, and in disposing of such lots of land as afforded space sufficient for the erection of warehouses (godowns) near the water's edge, to the mercantile firms who, being resident at Macao, had as yet no safe depository for their goods, for the keeping of which on board their ships they were at this time incurring serious loss and outlay.

The ransom money of Canton was put on board the Conway and Calliope, which were dispatched, the former to England with two and a half millions of chop dollars, the latter to Calcutta with about three millions in sycee silver and dollars. The claims of the merchants whose property had suffered in the attack and pillage of the factories by the rabble of the city, and subsequently by the Chinese soldiery on the 24th and 25th May, were also examined into

and adjusted, to the amount of about 300,000 dollars, those of the merchants of the United States and other foreign firms being also admitted, and great pains taken to regulate them; the reasonableness of some of these claims may be estimated by the following,—the alleged sufferers being an American firm, viz. :—

Loss of furniture, household utensils, &c. .	$10,000
Cash in Treasury	5,000
Personal inconvenience and risk of life . .	15,000
Books, papers, desks, &c.	6,000
Total . . .	$36,000

Sickness was, in the meantime, committing fearful ravages amongst the force at Hong-Kong: the season of midsummer, which is usually the most trying in the southern latitudes of this country, having been rendered more fatal to the health of the men from the vicissitudes and exposure through which they had passed during the latter part of May, before Canton, and the preparations for an advance upon Amoy and Chusan were in consequence seriously delayed; and the occurrence of two severe typhoons, towards the end of July, following each other in quick succession,

caused such extensive damage to several of the transports, and to some of the men-of-war, that it was found impossible to move the force in the beginning of August, as had been proposed. The arrival about this time of a fine battalion of the 55th, from Calcutta, mustering upwards of 900 bayonets, opportunely strengthened the means at the disposal of Sir Hugh Gough, enabling him to detail a garrison of sufficient strength for the occupation of Hong-Kong.

During the typhoon of the 21st July, Captain Elliot and Sir G. Bremer (who had returned to China towards the end of June, in the Queen steamer, with the powers of a joint plenipotentiary) were overtaken by the hurricane in all its violence, when on board the small cutter Louisa, proceeding from Macao to Hong-Kong, and had a narrow escape from destruction. The vessel was driven on shore, and dashed to pieces amongst the rocks, and the persons of their excellencies and of the officers who accompanied them were seized by the savage inhabitants of the island on which they had been wrecked, who robbed them of their clothes and otherwise ill-treated them. A promise, however, of reward

prevailed with the piratical ruffians into whose hands they had fallen, and for a sum of 3000 dollars promised to them by Captain Elliot, the whole were brought over in Chinese boats to Macao, where they landed on the 23rd, in a condition which fully revealed the nature of the brutal treatment which they had experienced.

On the 3rd August, the Sesostris, East India Company's steam frigate, came into Macao Roads, having on board their Excellencies Sir Henry Pottinger and Sir Wm. Parker. The new admiral pushed forward the preparations for the projected movement to the northward with all possible dispatch, and by the 20th, the whole fleet, including twenty-one transports, was ready to put to sea. His flag was hoisted on board the Wellesley, which, with the Blenheim, Druid, Blonde, Modeste, Pylades, Columbine, Cruizer, and Algerine, Sesostris and Queen steam frigates, and Nemesis and Phlegethon iron steamers, then proceeded to the northward. The military force distributed on board the transports consisted of the 18th Royal Irish, four companies of the 26th Cameronians, the 49th and 55th regiments, detachments of Royal and Madras artillery, two companies of Madras

sappers and miners, and a rifle company of the 36th regiment Madras native infantry, making in all a disposable force of about 2700 fighting men, with a numerous train of light field artillery and a rocket brigade.

Amoy was the point of their destination, whither also Sir Henry Pottinger proceeded on the 23rd, overtaking the fleet before the entrance to the port had been made by the Bentinck surveying vessel, in which Lieutenant (now Capt.) Collinson piloted the flag ship. Previous to his departure, the plenipotentiary published, in an official journal which had been established at Hong-Kong, the royal commission which he bore, empowering him to negotiate and conclude with the minister vested with similar power and authority on the part of the Emperor of China, any treaty or agreement for the arrangement of the differences now subsisting between Great Britain and China; and he further issued a notification, addressed to the British subjects resident in the empire, embodying his sentiments regarding the course of events and the desire which he felt to bring the war to a speedy and satisfactory close, and also respecting the position in which affairs rested at the time in the province of Canton. In

this document, which subsequent events have rendered important, his excellency intimated to the merchants that he had considered it advisable, for the present, to respect the truce which had been concluded with the authorities of Canton in May, but that the provincial government had been warned that the slightest infraction of its terms on their part would lead to an immediate renewal of hostilities, an alternative which he considered "not only highly probable, from the well understood perfidy and bad faith of the provincial officers themselves, but also because they might be compelled at any moment, by orders from the imperial cabinet, to set aside and disavow their own acts;" the merchants were therefore cautioned against putting themselves or their properties within the power of the Chinese authorities during the present anomalous and unsettled state of our relations with the emperor; and they were informed, that if they did so, it must be clearly understood to be at their own risk and peril. This was sufficiently explicit, but the general tenour of the notification was not very satisfactory to the parties to whom it was more particularly addressed. Upon the faith of the armistice, and relying upon the severe chastise-

ment inflicted upon the town as an effectual security from further hostilities, so long as no preparation for military operations on the part of the Chinese was permitted, the merchants had resumed their trade with Canton, and many members of leading firms had again taken up their abode in the factories, some of which had been partially repaired for the purpose by the Hong merchants, to whom they belonged. They were of course perfectly aware, that in thus trusting their persons and property in the hands of the Chinese, they incurred a certain amount of risk, because, however anxious their own government authorities might be to protect them, it would have been impossible, without violating the terms of the truce, by keeping an armed steamer or flotilla constantly off the factories, to have sheltered them from the danger in which a sudden and treacherous outbreak would have involved them: unless, therefore, the notification was intended to proclaim that any violence perpetrated towards the persons or property of British subjects within the limits of the port of Canton would not be considered an infraction of the treaty of May, (in which case the form of a public memorandum which must

fall into the hands of Chinese as well as British,* was not the most advisable mode for its announcement,) its object appears difficult to define.

It is a curious circumstance, that, during the whole period of the disturbances in Canton, including that of the British operations against the city in March and May, a large quantity of merchandise, principally cotton and manufactured goods, was lying in the packhouses of the Hong merchants, the same being the *bonâ fide* property of British merchants, and that it remained there uninjured throughout the war. The position in which affairs were left in the Kwang-tung province, was indeed anomalous: a Chinese garrison occupied the island of North Wangtung, and nominally guarded the entrance of the Bogue, while pilot chops were issued to British and foreign merchant vessels, which passed in great numbers to and from Whampoa, where the port dues and exactions of the mandarins (called cumshaw, or fee) were paid with as much regularity as before the war, but with this difference, that an additional impost of seve-

* The public notices and passages of interest which appear in the English newspapers published in China, are translated into Chinese, in Canton, with regularity and with considerable accuracy.

ral hundred dollars on ships of a certain class was submitted to and paid without remonstrance; no blockade was laid on the port, and while war was waged on every other part of the coast, and every effort made to annihilate the resources and distress the revenue of the empire, exorbitant dues were permitted to be poured into the treasury of its principal port.

Before the departure of Sir Henry Pottinger for the north, an attempt was made by the provincial government to open negotiations, which it was supposed had for their object the delaying or preventing the departure of the fleet towards Amoy. The kwang-chow-foo was sent to Macao, to seek an interview with his excellency at the house of Mr. D. L. Burn, with whom he was residing. Sir Henry, however, at once declined to receive the mandarin, being impressed with the ill effect which was likely to result from any indication on his part of a willingness to listen to negotiations and persuasions, and Major Malcolm, the secretary of legation, much to the astonishment of the kwang-chow-foo, was deputed to convey to him the plenipotentiary's courteous refusal of the interview requested. It is interesting to compare the circumstances of

this incident with those which took place in Canton three years before, when the chief superintendent of British trade, and her Majesty's representative in China, was compelled, in his communications to this same functionary, to append the submissive epithet Pin (petition) to the documents which conveyed his desires or remonstrances; which document swere, in 1838, humbly presented on the threshold of the city gates, beyond which he dared not pass or brave the arrogant and intolerant power which was so humbled in Macao in 1841.

In Hong-Kong, various appointments were made by the plenipotentiary to ensure the proper execution of such duties as he considered it necessary to intrust to local authorities, such as the management of the roads over the island, the port regulations and marine police, the general magisterial arrangements, administration of funds for commissariat and building purposes, &c. &c.; and G. Johnston, Esq., the deputy-superintendent of trade, was made governor of the island, while Colonel (now Major-General) Burrell was appointed to the command of the force left for the protection of the place, and for employment in whatever way might be found

expedient. It consisted of the head-quarters and five companies of the 26th regiment, a small detachment of the 18th, two companies of Bengal volunteers, and the shattered remains of the 37th Madras native infantry, with small detachments of Madras artillery, and sappers and miners. A fort was constructed on a small island called Kellett's, where it was supposed guns could be mounted with advantage to command the eastern entrance of the bay, and to suppress any movements of the enemy on Cowloon; two batteries for heavy pieces were erected at either extremity of its southern coast, and two masonry forts, which had been built by the Chinese in 1839, close to the water's edge to command the anchorage, were destroyed, and the promontory entirely evacuated.

A considerable number of Chinese, principally dealers in live stock, bum-boat articles, spirits, and opium, soon began to squat on the shores of Hong-Kong; and although for many months they constituted about as rascally and vagabond a community as could be found in a similar situation in any part of the world, the peace and order of the infant colony were preserved by the magistrate, Major Caine.

CHAPTER XVI.

Voyage to Amoy—Storming the batteries—The British in possession of the city — Ko-lang-soo — Departure for Chusan—Chinese defences—Landing of the British—Ensign Duall—The fort taken—Great loss of the Chinese—Soldiers and artisans—Chin-hae—Appearance of the heights—The citadel.

The fleet in the meanwhile pursued its voyage to Amoy, and having come to anchor outside that port on the 24th August, the admiral and general, with the plenipotentiary, ran in to the entrance of the harbour in one of the iron steamers, and reconnoitred the position which the enemy had taken up for its protection. It was found that the batteries along the shore contiguous to the island of Amoy had been considerably strengthened since the visit of the Alligator in the preceding year, and on Ko-lang-soo, an island situated near the eastern opening of the bay, some strong and well-designed

works had been thrown up. A number of war-junks and gun-boats had also been moored so as to cover the entrance to the harbour, and the whole line of defence occupied by the Chinese troops appeared to bristle with cannon. The two seventy-fours were laid alongside the great shore batteries, to silence their fire previous to our men being landed to clear them of the troops by which they were occupied; the Druid, Blonde, and light-draught vessels engaged the batteries of Ko-lang-soo, while the steamers were employed in landing the troops, and destroying the war-junks and gun-flotilla.

The engagement was a fine spectacle, but beyond the picturesqueness of the scene afforded no point worthy of comment, save that it furnished strong evidence of the excellence of the Chinese batteries, upon which the fire of the seventy-fours, though maintained for fully two hours, produced no effect whatever, not a gun being found disabled, and but few of the enemy killed in them when our troops entered. The principle of their construction was such as to render them almost impervious to the effects of horizontal fire, even from the 32-pounders of the seventy-fours, as, in addition to the solid mass of

Scale of one Mile

Long Battery

Section

Printed by C. Hullmandel.

masonry, of which the parapets were formed, a bank of earth bound with sods had been constructed on the outer face, leaving to view only the narrow mark of the embrasure.

After the bombardment, the troops were landed at various points, and the enemy speedily driven out of their works, the resistance being trifling, save at one point, where an officer of the Cameronians, Captain Gregg, coming unexpectedly at the head of a mere handful of his own regiment, upon a body of several hundred men, charged in amongst them, in spite of the great disparity of numbers, and totally routed them.

In the evening the troops bivouacked on some heights near the city of Amoy, the attack on which was deferred until the following morning, when it was entered without opposition, the enemy having abandoned it in the night. To the great disappointment of the force, who had been led to expect considerable booty in the vaunted capital of Fokien, the treasury was found almost entirely empty, and it was subsequently ascertained that large quantities of bullion, in sycee silver, had been carried out of the city even after the British had entered it, in hol-

lowed logs of wood, fastened together so cunningly, that the coolies who had been seen carrying them through the city gates were supposed to be merely plundering a timber-yard. As it was not practicable to detach a force sufficiently strong to retain possession of so extensive a place as Amoy, it was decided that the island of Ko-lang-soo should become the garrison position; and accordingly the four companies of the Cameronians and the left wing of the 18th regiment were put into some commodious buildings and joss-houses, with a small detachment of artillery and a few sappers, and were left to occupy and keep in awe the fort and town of Amoy.

The casualties during the operations of the 26th were trifling, the principal loss amongst the troops having been caused by the Sesostris steamer towing under water a large boat filled with men of the 55th regiment, of whom six were drowned. There was much of an interesting nature found by the troops in the town of Amoy, but their stay within the walls was brief, as the lateness of the season induced the commanders of the combined force to incur no avoidable delay in the prosecution of their voyage to the northward,

STORMING OF AMOY.

on account of the approaching change of the monsoon from S.W. to N.E. Captain Knowles, who commanded the artillery before Amoy, had in the meantime been actively employed in destroying the guns, (of which it was calculated that not fewer than 500 had been mounted in the batteries, forts, and junks,) together with large stores of ammunition, saltpetre, sulphur, &c., which were found within the town; and the engineers had also made great progress in the demolition of the works of defence along the sea shore and near the city.

On the 4th, the fleet, leaving the Druid, Pylades, and Algerine to blockade the place and guard against attacks by water upon Ko-lang-soo, cleared the north-east passage, whence they shaped their course for the Chusan archipelago, but owing to the baffling winds and thick fogs which they encountered when near the "Buffalo's Nose," many of the transports separated, and did not re-unite near Chusan until towards the close of the month, the general's ship, the Marion, amongst others, having drifted away so far to leeward, that the Cruizer was dispatched to bring him up to reconnoitre the

defences of the enemy, and make dispositions for the attack.

The preparations which had been made by the Chinese for their reception on the eastern shore of the island, were found to be most extensive, and impressed upon those who recalled to mind the state in which it had been left only eight months previously, a high opinion of the indefatigable perseverance which these people can devote to labours having for their object the acquisition of gain, the preservation of their property, and the support of the arrogance and authority of their bigoted rulers.

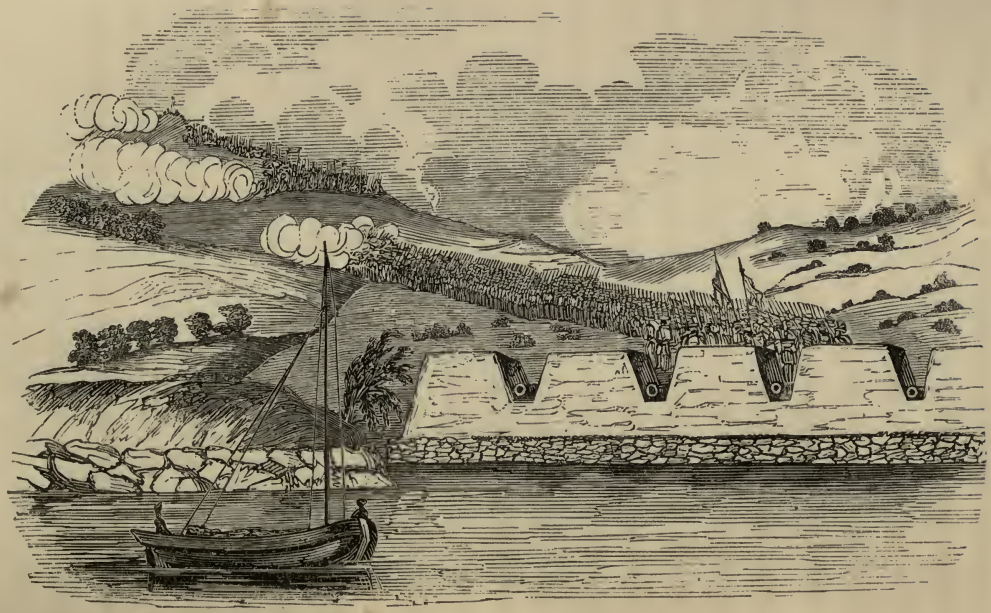
The fort on Joss-house Hill, commenced by the British in 1840, and which flanked the opening of the valley of Ting-hae, and the approach to the suburb, had been considerably strengthened and extended; strong musket-proof doors had been added to it, and a substantial loop-holed parapet had been carried round the whole, while on the sea-front a battery of eighteen guns, commenced during our occupation, had been completed in a very efficient manner, save that according to their usual custom, the embrasures had no splay towards

THE FORT BUILT BY THE ENGLISH AT CHUSAN.

the front, but were contracted into a breadth which scarcely afforded space for the gun to be pointed five degrees on either side of the line of fire. From the inner epaulement of this battery, along what had formerly been the wharf of the suburb, and across the entire mouth of the valley as far as the range of hills on the opposite side, an immense line of earthen battery had been thrown up, mounting 150 to 200 guns, and placed so as to command every spot in the inner harbour on which a vessel could float and bring her fire to bear against the defences of the place, while on the right flank of this extensive line a strong body of troops was encamped, partially covered by intrenchments, and supported by several guns and ginjalls planted on the slope of the ridge thus occupied. With their usual short-sightedness in such matters, however, the Chinese had entirely overlooked the necessity of protecting their flanks from being turned, and of covering every landing place on which troops might be disembarked, with the power to descend upon their line in a direction which could render the fire of their prodigious artillery and battery entirely futile.

The hills on the right of the valley, which formed the key of the enemy's position, though steep, were not difficult of ascent, and their summit once gained and cleared of its defenders, the whole line of works, constructed at such stupendous cost of time and labour, would be turned, and the road to the city of Ting-hae become open and unimpeded. This point was in consequence selected for the attack, while the attention of the enemy in the Joss-house Hill fort, and near the suburb, was to be distracted by the fire of a howitzer-battery which Captain Birdwood constructed on a small island called Trumball, on the eastern side of the inner harbour, within good range of the island; and all the necessary arrangements for landing having been completed by the evening of the 30th, the steamer ran in on the morning of the 1st October, and disembarked the 55th, 49th, 26th, and 18th regiments, with the rifles, artillery, and sappers, under the brow of the hill which the enemy had occupied in considerable force to his right.

Several men of war, in the meantime, anchored so as to bring their guns to bear upon the right flank of the long battery, and day had not long



HEIGHTS OF CHUSAN.

dawned, before the firing became general and animated from all parts of the enemy's line. As soon as the 55th regiment had formed on the confined space on which the landing took place, they advanced in column to gain possession of the heights in their front, from which a smart fire had been opened by the troops drawn up in tolerably regular array upon their summit. This duty was gallantly performed, and the enemy were soon in full flight across the low ground which separated their position from the city, leaving a great number of dead and wounded on the field, together with the whole of their guns, tents, and camp materiel. The 55th suffered some loss in their advance up the slope of the hill, and amongst others in their ranks, whose fall on this day was lamented, may be mentioned Ensign Duall, an officer of high promise, who had been recently promoted from the ranks for exemplary conduct and superior attainments, and who had on this occasion, for the first time, the honour of bearing one of the colours of his regiment into the field. He was shot dead while carrying it after the ascent of the heights had been nearly completed.

After the rout of the enemy on the left, the

general divided his force into two columns, of which one, under Colonel Tomlinson, of the 18th regiment, was directed to advance through the long battery, and drive the enemy before them until they reached the foot of Joss-house Hill, and then to carry by escalade the fort upon its summit, while the other, under the eye of the general himself, moved forward towards the city walls, in pursuit of the enemy and to effect an entrance into the town. The latter column performed their portion of the duty of the day without any check, the ladders having been planted against the southern face of the ramparts without any loss, and their summit gained by Captain Pears with an advanced party, in a manner too dashing and too perplexing, from its rapidity, to permit the Chinese troops to recover from their panic sufficiently to offer any protracted resistance. On the right, however, there was some opposition, and the 18th regiment and Royal marines suffered some loss, and had some sharp encounters with bodies of troops, who rallied from time to time in the long battery and turned resolutely upon their pursuers, before the whole line of works could be cleared, and the Joss-house Hill fort gained.

The whole formed an exceedingly picturesque and brilliant operation, and the magnitude of the defences which the Chinese had constructed to repel our attack, and the strength of the force which they had collected to man and support them, proved that the blow was of importance. Several mandarins of note were reported killed, or subsequently dead, from wounds inflicted in some instances by their own hands, in despair of regaining the favour of the emperor, after the discomfiture they had experienced on ground which they had vaunted should be henceforth inviolate.

The total loss of the Chinese was very considerable; and as the field of slaughter was not contiguous to the quarters which the troops occupied after the capture of the town, the bodies of the slain were left exposed on the heights, to be removed by their friends for burial. Those in the long battery were, however, interred, and the wounded removed into sheltered places, where their hurts could be attended to by the surgeons of the British force. The casualties on the side of the combined naval and military force were trivial. During the engagement on the heights, Sir Hugh Gough was struck

by a spent ball, which fortunately did him no injury.

Immediately after the occupation of Ting-hae by the troops, the Nemesis and Phlegethon steamers were dispatched round the island, to intercept any junks or boats in which the defeated Chinese might attempt their escape to the main, but without success, the troops of the enemy appearing to have melted away after their rout in a manner as complete as it was imperceptible. So little external distinction is there between the Chinese soldier and artisan, that, on throwing off the upper blue cotton jacket or coat, on which the badge of their service is emblazoned, the former may mingle with the inhabitants of a village, without his *metier* being distinguishable to any but a practised eye. Many of the Chinese soldiery were in the habit of escaping death, by adopting this prompt method of changing their profession.

Upon examination of the buildings which the Chinese had erected, since the evacuation of Chusan by the British in February, it was found that the most extensive arrangements had been made to convert the suburb which had formerly

presented a bustling scene of trade, and had been exclusively occupied by shops and warehouses, into a military cantonment; all the better description of houses, and such joss-houses as had been preserved uninjured, having been converted into barracks or depôts for stores, and the inferior class of shops and smaller houses, which could not be turned to useful account, having been cleared away, especially round the base of the hill on which stood the Joss-house fort. Large supplies, also, of iron, shot, musket-balls, and powder, were found in the suburb and within the walls of the town; and the whole of the preparations which had been made for the defence of the harbour, which the Chinese had doubtless imagined must of necessity be entered before an attack upon the city could be attempted, showed that their confidence in the skill of their dispositions, and their power to resist our advance, had been unbounded.

No time was now lost in preparing for a movement against Chin-hae, at the mouth of the Ningpo river, (a point distant from Chusan harbour less than fifty miles,) which, from the view that had been obtained of its fortifications in the

early part of the year, was known to possess considerable strength, and to have been occupied by a large body of troops, supported by a numerous train of artillery. A small garrison, consisting of detachments of the 18th and 55th regiments, artillery, and sappers, having accordingly been detailed, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Craigie, of the 55th, for the occupation of Ting-hae and the Joss-house forts, the combined force moved from the harbour of Chusan to the anchorage of Just-in-the-way, so called from a rock which rises above the water in mid-channel of the entrance to the Ningpo river; and on the 9th October, a close *reconnoissance* of the enemy's position was made by the two chiefs of the expedition.

The description of its strength, and of the labour bestowed by the Chinese to improve it, was found to have been in no way exaggerated; the heights on either side of the river appearing crowded with troops, and bristling with batteries and intrenchments, while the entrance to the river was impeded by a double row of piles, extending nearly the whole way across its mouth, and by a line of junks and gun-boats, moored

CHIN-HAI, MOUTH OF THE NINGPO RIVER.

immediately behind the barrier thus formed. The citadel, which occupies the summit of a sharp and craggy hill to the right of the river's mouth, had been considerably strengthened, and at every small bay or point where facility for landing was afforded, strong earthen batteries had been thrown up.

CHAPTER XVII.

Landing at Chin-hae—Cannonade of the citadel—Great slaughter of the Chinese troops—Prisoners deprived of their tails—Troops quartered in Chin-hae—Advance to Ningpo—Occupation of the city—Captives of the brig Kite—Search for treasure—Sale of grain—Employment of the troops—New cantonment—Rev. Mr. Gutzlaff.

EARLY on the morning of the 10th October, a strong column of infantry and artillery was landed upon a sandy beach far to the right or eastward of the Chinese position, and made a circuit round the base of the hills on which the main body of the enemy were posted, so as to get well in their rear, while their attention was diverted by the attack of another column which was landed near the mouth of the river, and by the fire of the men-of-war and steamers, which were anchored as close in shore as the shoaling of the water would allow, in order to demolish the defences of the citadel, and to throw shells into the batteries and intrenchments on the

heights. A small detachment of sappers and miners, under Captain Cotton, of the Madras engineers, having been attached to Sir William Parker's column, the naval portion of the force was assigned the duty of carrying all the enemy's works on the left, or west bank of the river; and accordingly, after a brisk and effective cannonade of the works of the citadel, the boats of the squadron pushed in shore with the small-arms men and marines, who, scaling the rocky heights on which they were situated, entered by a gate already partially ruined by the well-directed fire of the Wellesley, and speedily made themselves masters of the position, from which the Chinese fled as they approached. The scaling-ladders were then planted against the ramparts of the city at a point favourable for escalade, and the naval column was speedily in possession of the place, no resistance being offered by the enemy, whose discomfiture on this side the river was now complete.

In the meanwhile, a dreadful scene of slaughter was enacting on the right bank of the river, where the Chinese troops, retiring before the advance of the centre column, under Sir Hugh Gough, in the hope of retreating across the

river by a bridge of boats which had been left uninjured a short distance up the stream, came suddenly upon the head of the left column, which, having overcome all opposition in its course, had completed the circuit of the hills, and was debouching upon the banks of the river, so as effectually to intercept the retreat of the dense mass which was then crowding towards the bridge.

It is not difficult to conceive the scene which ensued. Hemmed in on all sides, and crushed and overwhelmed by the fire of a complete semi-circle of musketry, the hapless Chinese rushed by hundreds into the water; and while some attempted to escape the tempest of death which roared around them, by consigning themselves to the stream, and floating out beyond the range of fire, others appeared to drown themselves in despair. Every effort was made by the general and his officers to stop the butchery, but the bugles had to sound the "cease firing" long and often before the fury of our men could be restrained. The 55th regiment and Madras rifles, having observed that a large body of the enemy were escaping from this scene of indiscriminate slaughter along the opposite bank of the river

CLOSE OF THE ENGAGEMENT AT CHIN-HAE.

from the citadel and batteries which the naval brigade had stormed, separated themselves, and pushing across the bridge of boats, severed the retreating column in two; and before the Chinese could be prevailed upon to surrender themselves prisoners, a great number were shot down or driven into the water and drowned.

The loss of the Chinese was immense in killed and wounded; a vast mob of prisoners was captured, besides numerous pieces of cannon, many of which were brass, an immense quantity of camp equipage, ammunition, arms, and stores of all descriptions, and a considerable number of junks and armed boats. The prisoners were all set at liberty on the following day, deprived of course of their arms, and some also of their tails, which, though an accident easily remedied by the humblest of their tonsors, (by plaiting a new tail into the root of the old one,) was a mark of disgrace that did not fall to the province of the victors to inflict, and was a wanton outrage on the feelings of the Chinese, which could only serve to exasperate them against their invaders. Sir Hugh Gough, when informed by an officer of what was taking place, sanctioned his interference, and ordered that the prisoners should

be merely disarmed, and released without degradation of any kind. When, however, this gentleman, who had followed Sir Hugh Gough in a boat, reached the shore, the last man of the Chinese *detenus* was under the hands of the operator, a tar, who, upon being hailed to cease his proceedings, hastily drew his knife across the victimized tail, exclaiming that it was a pity the fellow should have the laugh against the rest.

On the side of the British but few casualties occurred; measures were speedily taken to convert the citadel into a strong post, and an efficient garrison, consisting of the 55th regiment, with detachments of artillery and sappers, under the command of Colonel Schoedde, of the former corps, was left to occupy it and hold possession of the fortifications of Chin-hae, some commodious public buildings affording good quarters for the troops, and for a large detachment of followers which it was found advisable to leave behind.

On the 13th, the steamer, with the Modeste and Columbine, as a light squadron, advanced up the river towards the city of Ningpo, where it was expected considerable resistance would be

offered, a passage having been first opened through the barrier of piles and the bridge of boats. But the lesson taught to the Chinese troops on the 10th, had been too severe to allow of a rally at so early a period; and on the approach of the steamers to a floating bridge which connects the city with a suburb on the right bank of the river, it was found that the place had been evacuated. The troops were accordingly landed on the bridge without molestation, and the walls having been scaled, possession was taken of the ramparts, and the gates of the city were thrown open. By an interesting coincidence, it chanced that the troops were quartered, on the night of the occupation, in the identical building which one year previously had contained the captives of the brig Kite; and Major Anstruther, who marched as a conqueror at the head of the Madras artillery into the prison, found the loathsome cage in which he had been tortured, still standing in the yard, and the marks of his pencil still on the walls. It is not undeserving also of record here, that during the tedious incarceration endured by Mrs. Noble, Major Anstruther, Lieutenant Douglas, and the other unfortunates of the Kite, a scheme

was proposed to the major by his brother officers at Chusan, for the relief of himself, Dr. Douglas, and Mr. Witts, (who were confined in a prison apart from the rest,) to be effected through the agency of a native of Ningpo, upon whom, from his fidelity in the conveyance of letters and other missives to and from Chusan, the *soubriquet* of "Blondel" had been conferred. The proposal was listened to with gratitude, but refused on the ground that even should success attend the bold attempt, the horrors of imprisonment would be increased towards their fellow captives, whom Blondel (owing to the unfavourable position of their prison) could not undertake to set free at the same time. The sentiment of generosity which dictated this refusal of an offer so tempting needs no comment.

As the city had been taken possession of without resistance, every precaution was adopted to prevent plunder, while a rigid search was instituted after public treasure in such buildings as were considered likely to contain the coveted store, that it might be made available as legitimate prize-property. No great amount of bullion was, however, found, but several extensive stores of cash, a small thin copper coin, of which 100

equal a dollar, were discovered inside the city; as, however, there was a doubt about their being the property of the government, some informants alleging that the owners were merchants or bankers of the place, a difficulty arose touching the right of appropriation in the minds of the prize-agents, who had to decide questions of legality in regard to plunder. It was finally settled by taking a portion only, a sort of per centage on the whole, as a tax or insurance, in return for the security in which the remainder was kept under a British guard. A vast quantity of rice and other grain was found in the public granaries, and as this was not required for the use of the force, whose magazines were already well supplied, it was sold to the Chinese, who were allowed to take away as much as one man could carry for the sum of one dollar, a load which was in many instances almost miraculous, and for which the price demanded was not unfrequently paid in coin of a most doubtful character; several hundreds of counterfeit dollars were, in fact, received during the sale of the grain.

Some serviceable little ponies which were found in paddocks and in stables attached to the

barracks of the city, were appropriated for the service of the artillery, and before long were rendered most useful as draught-animals, and for the transport of ammunition boxes and other necessary appendages of a field train. Shortly after the occupation of the town, the light-draught steamers were dispatched up the river to examine its course, to inquire into the condition of the province, and to ascertain what indications there might be of the assembling of large bodies of troops in the neighbourhood of the frontier towns. Nothing, however, was discovered which led the reconnoitring party to suppose that the Chinese meditated any aggressive operations against Ningpo; and as the chiefs of the expedition intended no further hostilities along the coast, the troops employed themselves in constructing fire-places in their barracks and in the guard-houses on the ramparts, improving the windows, planking the floors, and adopting all the measures of precaution against winter and foul weather which the experience of the older campaigners suggested.

The extensive buildings comprising the residence and offices of the Taou-tae, in which were

included the prisons of Mrs. Noble and her fellow-captives, being situated too near the heart of the city to render them a desirable military post in an unfriendly place, they were abandoned, and some joss-houses and mandarins' residences near the north-west angle of the ramparts, were taken possession of as a cantonment for the whole force. The old quarters were condemned as the fuel store for the winter, (a few old bricks, a little wood, and half-a-dozen old Chinese matchlocks, made up an excellent grate in half-an-hour,) and long before the cold season had passed, its beams, rafters, doors, and windows had been consigned to the fire-places of the barrack-rooms, and nothing but the ruined walls of the capacious building remained.

Through the activity of the Rev. Mr. Gutzlaff, who was at that time attached to the head-quarters of the army as interpreter, and who also acted as magistrate of Ningpo, a very tolerable market was soon established for the supply of the force, from which excellent white bread, beef, kid's flesh, fish, and abundance of good vegetables, were procured up to the period of their withdrawal in the succeeding year.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Sir Henry Pottinger's notification—Navigation of the Canton river—Infraction of the armistice—Smuggling—The Nerbudda transport—Springing a leak—Bold conduct of a gunner—The ship abandoned—Barbarity of the Chinese—Protracted warfare.

Whilst this series of successful operations had been carried on in the north, the small force stationed in the south at Hong-Kong had not been entirely inactive. When Sir Henry Pottinger quitted Hong-Kong, to follow the fleet in its northward progress, he had, in furtherance of the views announced in his public notification of August, directed that, in the event of any demonstration being made by the authorities at Canton which could be construed into an infraction of the treaty of May, such as staking the river, renewing the demolished forts, or erecting new works along the banks, prompt measures should be taken to interrupt their progress; and,

as a preliminary step, that the island of North Wangtung should be re-occupied, and if a garrison could, without prejudice to the efficiency of the force at Hong-Kong, be spared for the purpose, that North Wangtung should be held as a British post, to keep in check any further attempts that might be made to disturb the tranquillity of the province. In the contrary event, however, of its being found inexpedient to detail a garrison for North Wangtung, the forts and batteries, which the Chinese troops had been suffered to re-occupy, were to be demolished, and the place rendered untenable.

Towards the end of September, it was brought to the notice of Captain Nias, of H.M.S. Herald, that preparations were being made on the banks of the two principal channels of the river of Canton, the Macao passage and Junk river, by collecting junks laden with stores and rafts of timber, to form barriers, for the purpose of impeding the navigation, and to construct batteries at various commanding points of the stream. The Hooghley steamer was dispatched up the river to ascertain the truth of these statements; and the report with which she returned being confirmatory, Captain Nias signified to Major-

General Burrell his intention of proceeding up the river with the squadron under his command, to carry out the orders of the plenipotentiary; and General Burrell considering it improper to allow a smaller body than 200 men to remain in Wangtung unsupported, declined to detach from the force under his command any garrison for its permanent occupation. The alternative of its dismantlement was therefore of necessity adopted, and an engineer officer, with a party of sappers and miners, having been attached to Captain Nias' squadron, were conveyed in the Royalist to the Bogue, and landing on North Wangtung, (the garrison of which surrendered without resistance, and were sent on shore,) utterly destroyed, in the course of a few days, the formidable and well-built works which covered it. Captain Nias then proceeded up the river; and conceiving, from what met his observation in the Macao passage, that the intentions of the Canton authorities were warlike, and that their proceedings amounted, in fact, to an infraction of the armistice of May, he burned and sunk a number of store junks, fired some houses near which stakes were being fixed, and shot a few

persons whom he believed to be implicated in the treacherous proceedings of the mandarins.

He then withdrew the squadron, and issued a proclamation to the people dwelling upon the banks of the river, warning them of the consequences which must ensue to themselves and their habitations, should a renewal be observed of the attempts which he had frustrated. The force, however, returned to Hong-Kong in October, and the Chinese were left to pursue their operations unrestrained, a licence of which they so ably availed themselves, that, by the end of November, both the channels above alluded to were staked across, and batteries commenced in many places.

Considerable alarm prevailed in Canton when the news suddenly reached the factories that a British squadron was ascending the river. The English merchants, who were then residing in imagined security in their hongs, were cautioned by Howqua and others, that their continuance within reach of the authorities might be attended with danger; wherefore, depositing with the Hong merchants the specie which they chanced to have in their treasuries, and taking their books and

papers with them, they quitted the factories in boats which were sent for the purpose from the merchant shipping at Whampoa, and dropped down the river beyond the barrier of Junk river, which was now rapidly progressing. The Canton authorities, however, showed no ill feeling on the occasion, and the merchants soon retraced their steps, to carry on, upon their own responsibility, such trade as the aspect of the times permitted to flow in the accustomed channels.

In Canton, at this time, smuggling was carried on to an unparalleled extent; chop-boats, with teas and other articles, taking their departure, duty free, from the front of the factories, in the most open and unreserved manner. Indeed, many eminent mandarins were notoriously implicated in this contraband traffic; and it was not an uncommon occurrence to hear the names of distinguished functionaries, not excepting that of Yih-shan himself, coupled with such transactions.

Shortly after the return of Captain Nias to Hong-Kong, orders were received from the admiral, grounded upon the express instructions of her Majesty's government, to prosecute the blockade of Canton with increased vigour, and

to seize all junks found trading with that port. This was a serious blow to Hong-Kong, between which and Canton a coasting and carrying trade had sprung up. About this time, also, a transport was dispatched to the north from Hong-Kong, whose name has since become one of such melancholy celebrity, that a brief description of her memorable voyage may not be considered out of place.

Early in September, the Nerbudda transport came in from Calcutta with a large detachment of camp followers, principally "doolie bearers," or carriers of the sick and wounded, and a few men of the 55th regiment, with an officer, who had been left behind in the river Hooghley, in consequence of its having been found that the ship in which they had embarked with several companies of the regiment, was too much crowded to allow of her proceeding to sea in safety. After a few days' delay for watering and provisioning, she was dispatched to the northward, and in the course of her voyage, when in the strait of Formosa, was overtaken by a heavy gale of wind, which drove her towards the coast of that island, and finally entangled her among rocks and banks, in a position from which it was

found impossible to extricate her, although she rode at her anchors in good soundings. She had previously sprung a leak in striking against a ledge of sunken rocks, over which she had been driven by the violence of the sea ; and when the storm had abated, and her condition been examined, it was found that the utmost exertion would be required to keep the water in the hold below the line of danger. On board the ill-fated vessel there were about twenty Europeans, two or three natives of Manilla, and upwards of 300 natives of India, lascars of the ship, and camp followers of her Majesty's 55th regiment. She was well found in provisions and water, and had a fair supply of small-arms of all descriptions, including percussion firelocks, with which the men of the detachment of the 55th were armed.

On the morning following that on which the vessel had been anchored in her comparatively secure situation, the water stood at six feet in her hold, in spite of the constant employment of all hands on board at her pumps, observing which, the whole of the Europeans, including the captain, first and second mates, the officer commanding the detachment of the 55th, and a colour sergeant, and sixteen able-bodied men

who comprised it, took possession of two of the ship's boats, and, after having rendered unserviceable the only one that remained, pushed off to sea, and left their hapless and deserted comrades to their fate. As the last boat was leaving, a Manilla man, who had served as gunner on board the ship, pointed a gun at her which he had previously loaded, and swore he would fire, unless they came back to rescue him. They did so, and the gunner sprang into the boat, which, however, was not a second time pushed off, until her crew had destroyed the whole of the ammunition on board the ship, to prevent the bold example of the gunner from being imitated by some of the unfortunate lascars and followers, whose attempts to get down into the cutter were resisted by fixed bayonets and loaded barrels.

After being two or three days at sea, drifted to the southward by the current and northerly wind, the boats were descried by a trading brig, which took their crews on board, and pursued her way with them to Hong-Kong, being at the time either too far to the southward, or unable, from other causes, to retrace her course to Amoy, and give information to Captain Smith of the disaster which had befallen the Nerbudda, and the fate

of her deserted crew. On the arrival of the party at Hong-Kong, Captain Nias, the senior naval officer, placed the commander of the transport under arrest, and sent him a close prisoner on board H.M.S. Nimrod, which was immediately ordered to proceed to the coast of Formosa, to save, if it might yet be possible, the hapless beings who had been so cruelly abandoned. The object of the voyage was not, however, accomplished, for, owing to the bad weather which prevailed, or to some other cause which prevented her from approaching the spot more closely, she was compelled first to run for Amoy, to obtain the aid of a steamer, or some light draught vessel which could be steered with safety among the dangers of the Formosa coast. On her return to the neighbourhood of the spot where the Nerbudda had been last seen, the vessel was no longer there. It was afterwards ascertained that the unfortunate crew and Indian passengers, finding, after many days' toil at the pumps night and day, that she must soon sink at her anchors, determined at last to abandon her, and to seek their own safety on the uninviting shore upon which they had so long and so despairingly gazed from her decks. Rafts were

made of spars, planks, and pipe-staves; upon these they made their way to the shore one morning, when the surf appeared moderate enough to admit of their landing in comparative safety. The natives of the island, however, who had been observed gathering along the beach whilst their preparations for leaving the ship were going on, met them in crowds as they landed, and falling upon them while yet struggling in the surf, killed many of their number, and robbed and cruelly ill-treated the survivors, stripping them of all their clothing, and afterwards, under the escort of a body of soldiers, driving them like a herd of swine to the neighbouring capital town of Ty-waaw-foo, where they were confined like felons in the common jails, loaded with irons, and treated with a ferocious barbarity which fitly heralded the dastardly butchery by which, in the succeeding year, they all, nearly 200 in number, perished. The disclosure of the details of this savage act was made at the termination of the war, by the few survivors of the massacre who were then sent over to Amoy, in accordance with the terms of the treaty of Nanking.

At the close of the year 1841, peace seemed still far distant; and the confident and deter-

mined tone of the emperor's edicts, combined with the absence of all indications of anxiety to treat with the invaders upon any terms, seemed to offer the prospect of a protracted and unsatisfactory warfare, in which neither honour nor military experience were offered as the reward of those whose health and energies must be expended in its prosecution.

120°
121°
122
Sketch of the Theatre of War
in CHINA in
1842.
Yukaoheen
Kinachow
Grand Canal
Tsing Kiang Pu
Tsing Kiang
River
Nanking
invested 11th Aug.t 1842
Treaty of Peace signed 29th Aug 1842
Chinkeangsfoo
taken 21st July 1842
Yachanhun
Mouth of Woosung River
Convoy Forward
Harvey
Fooshanhun
Grand Canal
Tsung ming
Changchoofoo
Woosung taken 16th June
Canal
Shanghae
occupied 19th June
Towchowfoo
Grand
Canal
Chapoo taken 18th May 1842
Causeway
Hongchowfoo
Chusan Group
Chapoo
Tinghae
Chinhae
Tsekee
taken
10th Oct.r 1841
Ningpo
taken 13th Oct.r 1841
Latitude of Tinghae (Chusan) 30°0'.10" N.
Longitude d.° " 122.14' E.

Engraved by [illegible]

CHAPTER XIX.

Friendly disposition of the inhabitants of Ningpo—Severity of the winter — British garrisons — Cruelty of native pirates — Fearful retribution — Undisciplined recruits— Town of Victoria—Construction of dams in Canton river —Traffic with the Chinese—A ship burned—The crew made prisoners, and ransomed.

The commencement of the year 1842 found the British forces in quiet possession of Ningpo, the inhabitants of which town, although as yet afraid to compromise themselves with the mandarins, so far as to open their shops, and resume their occupations under the auspices of our temporary rule, yet manifested every friendly disposition towards our troops, supplying them with provisions in abundance, and even accepting employment from them in various capacities, as servants and camp followers. The winter had set in with great rigour, the snow lying thickly upon the ground in and around the city, and all water not affected by causes producing a

strong current being frozen over, or more or less confined by ice. Under the influence of this invigorating temperature, and of an abundance of fresh provisions of all sorts, the health of the troops continued to improve; and having the advantage of commodious exercising ground, and of roomy and well-warmed quarters, their position and circumstances were in all respects highly favourable. At this period there was but a small number of natives of India with the force at head-quarters, viz., the Madras sappers and miners, and the rifle company of the 36th regiment; and it is worthy of record, that although accustomed to such a climate as that of southern and central India, the men of these corps not only bore the severity of the winter of Ningpo without any constitutional injury, but appeared to improve in strength and condition under its unwonted influence.

At Chin-hae, where a strong detachment was stationed, all continued quiet, many of the inhabitants having returned to their houses since the capture of the city in October, and, encouraged by the peaceable and orderly behaviour of the British garrison, having re-opened their shops and resumed their ordinary occupations of fish-

ing, weaving, and agriculture. The force here consisted of the 55th regiment, with strong detachments of artillery and sappers and miners, and a proportion of followers, the whole under the command of Colonel Schoedde, C.B. Several ships of war lay in the mouth of the river, and the greater part of the fleet of transports remained at the anchorage near "Just-in-the-way," a few miles to the eastward.

At Chusan, detachments of the 55th and 18th regiments, artillery, and sappers and miners, remained during the winter, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Craigie, garrisoning the town of Ting-hae, and the fort commanding the anchorage, which had been completed by the Chinese upon our lines and foundations, commenced in 1840, while in the beautiful and commodious bay, or "inner anchorage," lay the remainder of the transports, store-ships, men-of-war, and steamers.

At Amoy, but a weak garrison was maintained, consisting of two companies of the 18th regiment, with detachments of artillery and sappers and miners. A frigate and two small-class vessels of war were anchored in the bay to support it, and to defeat any attempts on the part of the

Chinese to annoy the British force by means of war-junks, and at a safe anchorage off the island of Ko-lang-soo the transports appropriated to the troops composing the garrison were detained to serve as store-ships and hospitals. No annoyance, however, was experienced in this quarter; but the ladrones, or native pirates, took advantage of the interregnum in the coast-cities and districts of the Fokien province, and of the consequent weakness of the few Chinese municipal authorities who ventured to return to Amoy after the departure of the British army and fleet, ravaged the villages and suburbs adjoining it, and committed extensive depredations among their stores and dwellings, and practised excessive cruelties upon the defenceless inhabitants. The boats of the squadron, however, under the direction of Captain Smith, C.B., of the Druid, succeeded before long in suppressing this system of violence, so desolating to those classes of the people of China from whom it was our policy to avert as much as possible the horrors of war. This was not effected, however, before several terrible examples had been made of the crews of pirate-junks and row-boats captured, and some loss suffered on the part of the captors, chiefly

upon the occasion of the boarding of a large vessel which blew up, injuring and destroying many of our men, while a boat of H. M. S. Druid was alongside, and part of her crew in the act of mounting the sides of the junk.

Whenever accident threw any of these pirates into the hands of the Chinese, the most fearful retribution was inflicted upon them; they were invariably put to death in a manner the most savage and merciless. On one occasion, in the early part of the year, a few of the most desperate hands out of a captured junk, after having been severely flogged, were sent away in a boat towards the shore, and their vessel set on fire; they, however, landed, but were no sooner descried from the adjacent villages, than they were surrounded and seized by the populace, and, with circumstances of the most revolting and terrible cruelty, were beaten to death.

On the island of Hong-Kong, at the commencement of this year, a force was maintained greater in proportion than that which had been employed in the reduction of Amoy, Chusan, and Chinhae, in the preceding August and September, consisting of the 26th regiment of Cameronians, 37th regiment Madras native infantry, two com-

panies of the 1st regiment of Bengal volunteers, and detachments of the 18th and 49th regiments, artillery, and sappers and miners ; but the Cameronians having been found necessary for the strengthening of the force in Ningpo, were withdrawn from the south early in January, and, with a detachment from the corps which had been left at Amoy, proceeded in the Jupiter troopship to rejoin the head-quarters of the army. Up to this period the settlement had attracted but little general interest, and Major-General Burrell had provided for the accommodation of the troops, being natives of India, in temporary barracks, erected on shore, leaving the European regiments to the protection of the transport-ships.

On the return of Sir Henry Pottinger, after an absence of six months, orders were given for the erection of extensive regular barracks, an hospital, magazines, &c. &c. A range of warehouses, built by a mercantile firm, in a commodious situation, was purchased for a commissariat store, in addition to one which had then just been completed, and had been made over to the navy for a victualling office. The whole of the troops were brought on shore ; coal, guns, ammunition, and stores of all descriptions, were re-

moved into safe and commodious shelter, and a considerable number of transports discharged.

The 37th regiment Madras native infantry, which had suffered so severely in numerical strength and efficiency, through the shipwreck of the Golconda in 1840, with their ill-fated head-quarters and flank companies on board, as well as through the fever and dysentery, to which all the troops employed against Canton in May, 1841, had been subjected, on their return to the bay of Hong-Kong, was sent back to India, and the duties of the garrison were duly apportioned to the detachments recently landed. The consequences, however, of leaving young undisciplined recruits without the example and general influence of their more experienced comrades, and retaining them at a place so peculiarly ill-suited as Hong-Kong for the formation of those habits of good order and military aptitude so indispensable to their efficiency and utility in the ranks of an army, a place where, at that time, none but the lowest orders of Chinese traders resorted, was soon made manifest in the numerous irregularities and frequent casualties which took place among some of the strong bodies of recruits which arrived from England in the early

part of the year. The mortality and the constitutional debility which struck so many of their number cannot therefore be advanced in proof of the insalubrity of the climate of the island, for the profuse indulgence in the use of samshoo, aided by exposure to the sun's mid-day rays and by the immoderate use of sea-bathing, was certainly calculated to induce loss of health under any circumstances of temperature or climate.

The investment of large sums of public money in permanent buildings on the island, which were now put in progress by the plenipotentiary, excited general confidence, and the British merchants from Macao commenced the erection of warehouses, wharfs, and piers, upon the lots of ground which had been assigned to them during Captain Elliot's administration. No sooner, also, did the Chinese population of the island perceive that the English were no longer averse to invest capital in the soil, than the example was eagerly imitated, and with such extraordinary celerity were these building operations carried on, that, in the course of two months, the native town, Victoria, which had before presented to the eye scarcely anything but streets and rows of houses,

formed of the most crazy, perishable, and inflammable materials, now boasted at least a hundred brick tenements, besides a spacious and commodious market-place, for which the settlement was indebted to Major Malcolm, secretary to the British legation, (under whose direction the work was planned and regulated,) a stone jail, a wide, excellent road, drains, and bridges, wherever necessary, and an official residence for the presiding magistrate. An extensive space was also enclosed for the use of her Majesty's naval and victualling stores ; coal-sheds, forges, and workshops for steam machinery, with commodious wharfs and piers, were rising rapidly within its limits. The shore batteries and magazines, and the fort on Kellett's island, commanding the entrance into the bay from the north and west, were now urged rapidly forward, and by the time that the arrival of the whole of the reinforcements from England enabled the plenipotentiary to proceed to the scene of more important duties and interests in the north, the colony had undergone a change as striking to those who could compare its present flourishing condition with its state only four months previously, as it must have been gratifying to the

functionary to whose energy and decision it was mainly due.

In Canton and its neighbourhood all remained quiet. Formidable works of defence had been constructed on all the main approaches of the river, which the operations of the British force, in May, had taught the Chinese military engineers to guard with more jealous care. A vast number of guns had been mounted on the banks of the Macao passage, the reach by which the Blenheim had approached the city on that occasion, and also near the junction of the two creeks called Junk River and Fiddler's Reach; but it appeared, moreover, from reconnoissances made at intervals in steamers, and by information supplied from other quarters, that the object of the provincial authorities was by no means of an aggressive nature, and that, in thus improving their fortifications, they sought only to prepare the city for defence, in the event of the tide of war setting once more towards its gates.

It did not escape remark, while these new batteries and redoubts were in progress, that a greater degree of engineering skill had been exhibited, both in the mode and principle of their construction, and in the selection of their sites,

than had been observed in any operations of a similar kind yet witnessed during the war, and this circumstance probably led to a report, prevalent in Canton, that several European engineers, recently arrived from sea, had found employment in the service of the emperor, a rumour, however, which was never authenticated.

Dams, also, of a novel construction, and not ill-adapted to the purposes intended, were erected across every navigable branch of the main river, at such points as those formerly chosen for the debarkation of troops by the British; and so effectually did they impede, not only the passage of steamers and other vessels, but even the course of the stream threatened at any moment to raise it above the level of the city and surrounding country, and inundate the whole to a serious extent. These barriers were formed of rows of huge crates or cradles of stout timber, firmly bound with iron. They were constructed on a lofty scaffolding, erected for the purpose at Napier's Point, and carried up to a height nearly equal to the depth of the river, at the point intended to be dammed; they were then weighted with blocks of granite, and sunk in lines, after

which they were filled up to the water's edge with stones small enough to be lifted by a man, and thus formed a very solid sort of rubble wall across the passage, possessing the advantage (when circumstances rendered such obstructions to the navigation of the river unnecessary) of being much more readily removed than those formerly made of sunken junks, as, after weighing by hand as much of the stone ballast as could be reached at low water, the crates could be raised to the surface, and towed ashore with facility.

An extensive traffic was about this time carried on with the Chinese, in cannon and in muskets and other small-arms, by the Portuguese, at Macao, to whom these unusual articles of commerce were shipped from Singapore in foreign vessels, and were sold at Macao at prices so advantageous, that many were tempted to share in the golden harvest who might have been expected to refrain from thus openly encouraging and arming the enemies of their ancient ally.

The whole of the guns of the French frigate Magicienne, which had been wrecked near Manilla, in 1840, were brought from Manilla,

whither they had been taken by the people who recovered them from the wreck, and sold in the most unscrupulous manner to mandarins, who came down the Broadway, or back channel, to treat for supplies of military stores which in many instances were to be seen in process of shipping in broad day, from wharfs contiguous to that of the custom-house of Macao. Hundreds of cases of muskets and bayonets, as well as pistols, thus found their way into the imperial arsenals, while of cannon, both brass and iron, it was calculated that not fewer than from five to six hundred pieces had passed up the Broadway, between October and January, in spite of all the efforts of the boats of our men-of-war to intercept the junks in which they were transported, as soon as they emerged from the protection (?) of the Portuguese inner harbour.

This strange traffic, conducted in spite of the presence of a large fleet on the coasts of the enemy, for whose benefit it was carried on, was not exclusively confined to foreign bottoms, as one commander of a British trading-vessel came into Hong-Kong Bay, to report to the naval commandant that he had arms on board for the Macao market, and one or two ships, sailing

under the same flag, were threatened with seizure, while lying in Macao Roads, for having had brass cannon stowed in them at Singapore.

In the early part of the year, the Madagascar, Hon. E. I. Co.'s armed steamer, Captain Dicey, which had been sent to Calcutta with the dispatches relating to Canton, was lost by fire on her way back, between Hong-Kong and the north, with the dispatches which she had brought from the governor-general of India. The fire it appears originated in the spontaneous combustion of the coal in her bunkers, and her crew were compelled, after fruitless efforts to get it under, to take to the boats and abandon her. Of these boats, only one, containing Captain Dicey, her commander, Major Grattan, 18th regiment, and some of the officers and crew of the steamer, with the Chinese carpenter, reached the shore, where they were at once seized and thrown into prison. By promise of a bribe, they contrived to prevail, through the carpenter, upon a native to convey a letter to Macao, addressed to Messrs. Matheson and Burn, acquainting those gentlemen with the misfortune which had befallen them, and requesting them to take such steps as

they might deem advisable to procure their liberation. A reward of 300 dollars was given to the man who brought the letter, and a like sum was offered to him to carry back an answer to Captain Dicey, and again convey to Macao a further communication. It was arranged that the prisoners should represent themselves to be Americans, and that Messrs. Jardine, Matheson, and Co., should demand their restitution as subjects of the United States. The provincial government were fortunately at the time too much occupied with the operations about to be undertaken against Canton by the English, to seek to aggravate the feeling of animosity which existed, and they accordingly tacitly suffered the mandarin who had charge of the shipwrecked party to bargain for their release with Jardine and Co., who finally obtained their liberation for a ransom of 4000 dollars, which sum was immediately refunded on the arrival of Sir Henry Pottinger. The prisoners had little ill-treatment to complain of at the hands of the Chinese, and all, even to the Chinese carpenter, minus his tail, were restored without injury.

CHAPTER XX.

State of repose—Practice of kidnapping—Phlegethon steamer in danger—Expected attack—Warning given—Approach of the Chinese—Their gallant attack—Enter the city—Defeat and flight—A sortie—Terrible slaughter—Pursuit of the Chinese—Description of the Maou-tses—Abortive attempt to surprise Chin-hae.

The repose enjoyed by the British garrison at Ningpo continued undisturbed for a considerable period. Towards the latter end of December, however, and in the beginning of January, it had been found necessary, from information received through Mr. Gutzlaff, the interpreter and magistrate, to dispatch the steamers with a body of troops to the neighbouring town of Yu-yao, in which it was reported that Chinese garrisons had been assembled, and depôts formed for the supply of an army, but the result of these expeditions had not proved of any very great importance. At Yu-yao, through the extraordinary

ignorance and folly of the enemy, who abandoned their fortifications as the British advanced towards their gates, and then attracted their attention by firing upon them from the open country, while our troops were marching along the ramparts, some loss was inflicted on the Chinese troops, and some stores and military buildings destroyed, at the cost of a long chase of seven miles in deep snow, during which one of the midshipmen received a wound in the foot; but beyond showing the enemy that we were on the alert, and giving the inhabitants of the province salutary warning of the ruin and destruction which they would bring upon themselves by concealing intelligence of their movements, or aiding them in designs against our security, no considerable object was attained by the demonstration.

In the meantime, an effectual method of annoyance was being practised within the city of Ningpo itself, by means of kidnapping, a system of warfare, if the term may be so applied, so repugnant to the feelings of civilized nations, as to justify the adoption of measures towards its perpetrators far more severe than were enforced by our military authorities on this occasion.

Induced by the large rewards offered by the mandarins at Hang-chow-foo, gangs of ruffians used to carry on this practice, even in the neighbourhood of the quarters of the British troops, in a manner the most daring and adventurous, contriving in most cases to carry away without detection the living prey which they had seized, although sentries were posted at every outlet from the city. Our soldiers were generally enticed by offers of samshoo or other indulgence, into the houses frequented by the kidnappers, and being dosed till their senses were overpowered, they were bound hand and foot, and carried away on a pole by two coolies, disguised like a bale of goods, or were put into the hold of the small vegetable boats which plied on the canal, and carried through the water gates adjoining the south-western entrances.

Upon one or two occasions the vigilance of the sentries defeated this plot, but as no proper example was made of these fellows when caught, the system was persevered in to the last, and so bold were their plans, that it became unsafe to frequent any of the smaller streets of the city or suburbs without the attendance of a guard. The same practices were also carried on in

Chusan, and so many men of the detachments in garrison at Ting-hae were thus spirited away, that the liberty of the troops became much restricted and their enjoyments curtailed; but on the return of Sir Henry Pottinger to the north, the vigorous measures which he directed to be pursued in future towards such offenders when captured, soon established a considerable check upon their operations—two men who were seized in an attempt to kidnap a soldier, having been summarily executed upon the bough of a tree hard by.

During the months of January and February, two small expeditions were dispatched, the one to ascertain the practicability of the approach of the fleet to Hang-chow-foo, and the other to examine the navigation of a river which flows into the sea, near the town of Peikwan, distant between forty and fifty miles from Ningpo: the result of both was unsuccessful, especially of the first, as the Phlegethon steamer, commanded by Captain M'Cleverty, accompanied by Captain Collinson, the naval surveyor, found the tide to set with such velocity into Hang-chow Bay, as to render it impossible for sailing vessels to avoid the shallows with which it abounds. The

steamer, indeed, had a narrow escape, as with her best bower anchor down, the steam at full pressure, and her square sails set to a strong wind aft, she was barely able to keep the cable slack, which saved her from running upon a bank in the middle of the stream, upon which the tide, running at the rate of eleven knots an hour, had set her.

Towards the end of February, the Rev. Mr. Gutzlaff received intelligence, through some native suppliers of the market, which was his peculiar care and charge in the city, that some hostile movement on the part of the imperial forces was in contemplation; but the information was vague, and although it was known that considerable bodies of troops had from time to time arrived in the province from Hang-chow-foo and the westward, no imminent danger was apprehended.

On the 6th or 7th March, Sir Hugh Gough, having occasion to visit Chusan to consult with Sir William Parker on the future destination of the combined forces, quitted Ningpo, leaving the command of its garrison in the hands of the senior officer, Colonel Morris, of the 49th regiment. On the 8th, Mr. Gutzlaff received a

report from some of his informers that an attack on the city might be expected in the course of the following day; but as the cry of "wolf" had been more than once raised, the warning was disregarded.

Still Mr. Gutzlaff's anxiety continued, for he found that many of the inhabitants were shutting up their shops, and quitting the city, and although all showed a great disinclination to make any communication on the subject of their motives, the great experience of the reverend gentleman, and his intimate acquaintance with their peculiar habits and notions, enabled him to penetrate the mystery, and obtain information sufficient to strengthen and confirm his suspicions of the coming storm.*

The night of the 8th, however, and the whole of the following day, brought no indication of the approach of an enemy; and although a circumstance which occurred on the 9th might have satisfied the most sceptical that danger in some hidden form was at hand, no precautions

* It is said, however, that he did not express himself to the military authorities in a manner sufficiently marked to lead them to suppose that he himself attached credence to the report.

were taken to meet it, either by strengthening the guards on the gates, sending picquets to patrol during the night, or pushing reconnoitring parties out on the roads in the direction of the camps and quarters occupied by the imperial troops.

A number of little Chinese boys who were found roaming through the deserted streets of the city, in a miserable and half-starved condition, when it was taken possession of by Sir Hugh Gough, had been fed and half-adopted by our soldiers: the little fellows soon accustomed themselves to the habits of the men, and became useful about the barracks in a variety of ways, particularly in carrying provisions for the supply of the messes, and in procuring any articles not readily obtainable in the principal market.

On the morning of the 9th, however, these boys, who were scarcely ever out of the men's quarters, appeared before their patrons in a state of great alarm, making signs in imitation of the headsman's functions, and of the discharge of matchlocks and cannon, and repeating to all their particular friends in the barracks the warning, "Min-ting, leilo; min-ting, leilo,"

(they will come to-morrow,) after which they all disappeared in parties, and towards evening scarcely one was to be seen in the quarter of the town occupied by the force.

Fortunately this warning was not lost on the men, and although no orders were issued directing more than ordinary watchfulness on the part of the guards, a feeling of unusual alertness and expectation of mischief pervaded all the men on duty that night, especially those at the south and west gates, (which, from their position, are more exposed to a surprise than some of the other entrances of the city,) on each of which a guard of only one subaltern and fourteen rank and file was posted, with no point of support to retreat upon, in the event of emergency, nearer, in the case of the south-gate guard, than half a mile.

Midnight had passed away without the appearance of a foe, and a sense of security was beginning to banish the doubts of the preceding day, when, about four A.M., the sentry on the rampart over the west-gate discerned the figure of a Chinaman advancing along the paved road leading to the outer entrance into the square

bastion in which the double gateways are situated ; he called out to him to "weilo," (go,) but the intruder continued to approach the gates, holding in his hand a substance which resembled a glowing match ; the challenge was repeated, and the man without halting replied, in a firm voice, "weilo moa," (will not go ;) the sentry's piece was levelled in an instant, and the man fell.

The report of this solitary musket-shot was the signal for a general onslaught, and as the troops turned out of their quarters at the sound of the call to arms, which now resounded far and wide through the city, their ears were greeted by volleys of musketry incessantly rattling at the south and west gates, and by the booming of heavy guns in the direction of the river, where the Modeste, and the Sesostris steamer, were lying.

The suburbs instantly appeared alive with enemies, who poured down upon the gates in columns of dense array and prodigious length, headed by men whose gallantry and determination could not have been excelled. At the west gate, however, which was in good repair, and possessed at the time a guard-house well calcu-

lated for defence, all their efforts to effect an entrance proved fruitless. The guard, which was ably commanded by Lieutenant Armstrong, of the 18th regiment, manned the parapet of the bastion, and poured in upon the dense mass of men below a close and steady fire of musketry, which took deadly effect among their crowded ranks, while a few files were employed in throwing over from the ramparts upon the heads of their miserable assailants, the large heavy blue bricks and blocks of granite of which the parapets and revetments are composed, and which were afterwards found to have crushed and mutilated numbers of the enemy in a most shocking manner. But the havoc which was thus taking place amongst them did not for a long time deter them from persevering in their desperate attempt; and while a few bold men endeavoured to scale the wall, by driving nails into the crevices of the masonry, and so ascending, another party having reared a rude sort of ladder against a part of the rampart, clear of the fire of Lieutenant Armstrong's men, their leader, a powerful and courageous man, actually gained the summit. He was not, however, destined to receive the reward of his gallantry, for, being

encountered as he issued from an embrasure by a private of the 18th, one Michael Cushion, who had been atoning in a solitary cell near the guard-house, for some undue weakness "in regard of" the strong waters of the Chinese, and had been liberated by the sentry on the approach of danger, the Chinaman's matchlock was in a moment wrested from him, and the butt brought to bear upon his head with all the momentum which the sinewy arm of the son of St. Patrick could communicate to it, felling him to the ground, whence he was lifted by Cushion, and thrown through the embrasure upon the bodies of his comrades who lay crushed and mangled below.

In the meantime, however, success had attended the efforts of the enemy at the south gate, where the guard-house being situated below instead of upon the rampart, the means of defence were not readily available, and the Chinese having penetrated within the town by the water gate, and being joined by large detachments of troops, who had to all appearance been concealed in the houses during the day preceding, the officer commanding the guard, fearful of being cut off from the nearest point of

support, and seeing that the gateway was already in the possession of the enemy, retreated with his handful of men along the rampart towards the bridge gate, which post he reached without loss, the Chinese appearing too intent upon penetrating into the city, to bestow any further attention upon them, although they must have proved an easy prey had a detachment of match-lock men been sent to pick them off as they passed along the exposed terre-pleine of the rampart.

From the south gate the enemy now proceeded in a long and dense column towards the market-place in the centre of the town, and finding no obstacle to their advance, concluded their comrades at the west gate had been equally successful, and that Ningpo was once more their own. As they emerged, however, from a narrow street into the market-place, their advance was suddenly arrested by a company of the 49th regiment, which had been detached to reinforce the guard at the south gate. Though taken somewhat by surprise at encountering so dense an array of hostile troops in the very heart of the city, the officer who commanded the company instantly halted, and forming his men across the

street, opened fire upon the Chinese troops at pistol-shot distance with terrible effect. It was returned for a short time with matchlocks, and an attempt was made to bring a small gun or ginjall to the front, but their men fell so fast under the musketry of the 49th, that the remainder soon lost heart, and commenced a retrograde movement, which was soon converted into a flight, as our men pressed on them, forcing them from street to street, until they were driven out again through the south gateway into the suburb, when the victorious little band took possession once more of the bastion, and the gates were closed and secured. A great many of the enemy escaped into the houses and by-streets as the routed columns rushed along, and throwing away their arms and soldiers' dresses, mingled with the crowd, and thus escaped the fate of many of their comrades, who, having been brought from distant provinces, and unacquainted with the localities of the city, were unable to avail themselves of the ready means of escape which its hundreds of lanes and alleys afforded.

So confident had the assailants been in the issue of the conflict, that, on the return of our men to the guard-house, it was found that a

Chinese guard had been already established in it since the retreat of the subaltern's party who occupied it at the moment of the attack; their beds, and the usual kit of a Chinese soldier, abandoned in the hurry of their unexpected expulsion, were found spread upon the floor. On the river side of the city, the attempts of the enemy were confined to bringing down some guns to the wharfs opposite the anchorage of the Modeste, and firing round shot from them at her and into the city, doubtless in order to distract the attention of the garrison, and to cover the advance of several fire-rafts which were sent down the river, through the opening in the bridge of boats, upon the men-of-war and steamers which lay at anchor below.

The effect of the rafts was, as usual, nothing; they were speedily towed away by the boats, and exploded or burnt out clear of the shipping, while the Modeste, whose broadside bore upon the wharfs on which the guns of the enemy had been mounted, soon laid in ruins some of the large buildings in which the enemy appeared to have collected, and promptly silenced the fire which had been commenced.

When morning had fully dawned, Colonel

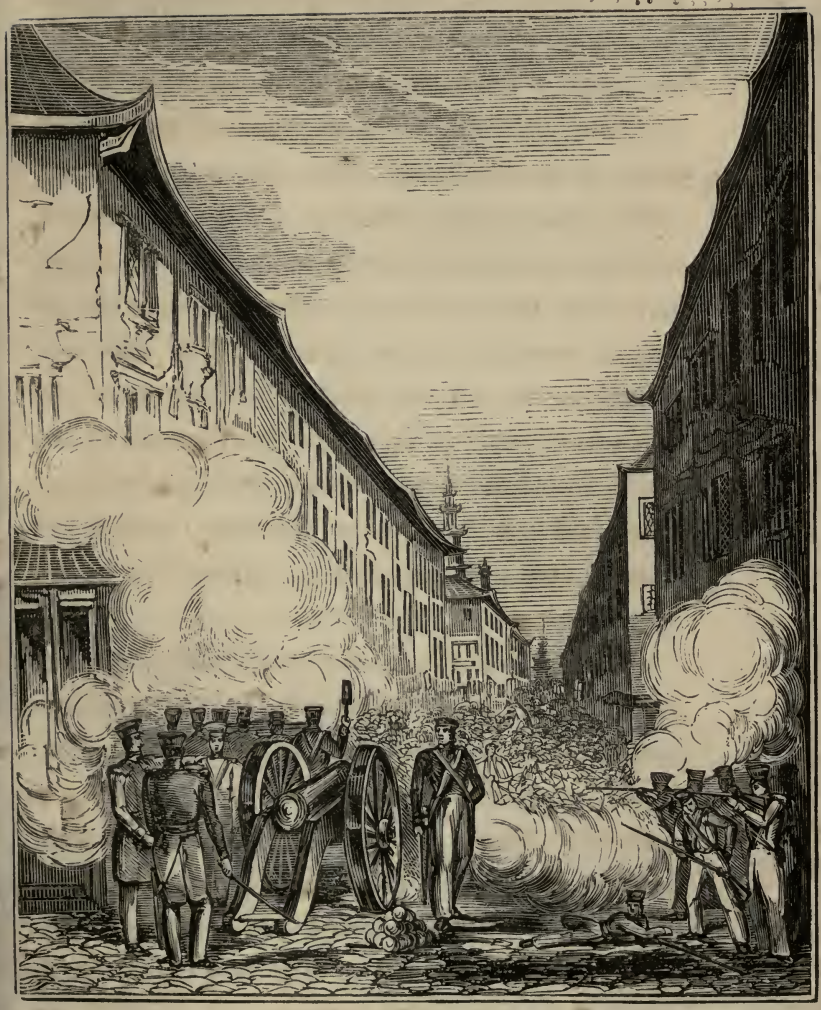
Montgomerie, of the artillery, conceiving that the obstinacy of the attack on the west gate might be turned to advantage in enabling him to make an effectual sortie from the town in that direction, brought a couple of small howitzers, with a party of gunners, along the ramparts, and running one of them through the gateway, while the other was sent round to succour the south gate, ordered the outer gates to be thrown open, and the sortie to be made. A short time previous to this movement, however, the enemy had begun to draw off from the attack, and a party of artillerymen, under Lieutenant Molesworth, pushed forward a few hundred yards into the suburb, to ascertain the direction they had taken, and see what was going forward. They soon found themselves in front of a dense mass of troops, drawn up along the main street, upon whom Lieutenant Molesworth, although accompanied by a mere handful of men, instantly opened a smart fire of musketry, which the Chinese returned with much spirit, and shewed a disposition to advance upon their assailants. At this juncture, Captain Moore's howitzer came up, and, being run to the front, immediately opened upon the living wall before them with case shot,

at a distance not exceeding twenty to thirty yards. The effect was terrific, for the street was perfectly straight, and the enemy's rear, not aware of the miserable fate which was being dealt out to their comrades in the front, continued to press the mass forward, so as to force fresh victims upon the mound of dead and dying which already barricaded the street. The head of the column fell literally "like the Moor's swath at the close of day," and the howitzer only discontinued its fire from the impossibility of directing its shot upon a living foe, clear of the writhing and shrieking hecatomb which it had already piled up.

It had, however, been only fired three times, and the destruction would have been far greater had not the short distance prevented the grape-shot from spreading. The infantry party had resumed their platoon firing, the front rank, after discharging their pieces, filing off to the right and left to load and form again in the rear, their places being filled by the next rank, and so on; by which means such a storm of balls was kept up upon the enemy, that in a short time the street was choked up, and when, for want of a living mark, the men were ordered to advance, their steps fell upon a closely packed mass of

dead and dying for fully fifteen yards. A company of the 18th, and one of the 49th regiment now coming up, the pursuit was continued along the bank of the western canal for about six miles, but over such slippery roads, and with such speed, that, at its close, only a few men hung together, with three or four officers, when the Chinese, finding that every ball was telling in their ranks, and that the number of their pursuers was so small, suddenly turned upon the foremost, and bringing four or five ginjalls to bear upon the road, kept them at bay until reinforcements arrived, by which time the main body of the fugitives had got too far in advance to render it expedient to pursue them any further with troops so exhausted.

The repulse of this bold attack was now complete at all points, and its results must have been effectual in deterring the Chinese leaders from again venturing on the lair of their terrible invaders. While on our side not a single man had been killed and only a few wounded, upwards of 400 of the enemy had fallen, consisting, of course, of their bravest and best. Much credit was given by the commander-in-chief, on his return to Ningpo, to Colonel Montgomerie,



REPULSE AT NINGPO.

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for his conduct during the assault; and, indeed, had it not been for his promptitude in succouring the defenders of the gates, and for the alacrity and judgment with which he seized the opportunity of destroying the west column, before its retreat out of the suburb could be accomplished, there can be no doubt that the enemy would have drawn off their forces from the attack with so little loss as to have induced them to renew it, and to molest and harass the garrison by cutting off its supplies, intimidating the inhabitants of the city by continuing to hover in its vicinity. But the merciless carnage in the street of the western suburb proved too fearful a lesson to be soon forgotten by the Chinese troops: upon no occasion during the war had such terrible slaughter been inflicted either in so short a period of action, or in so confined a space. The corpses of the slain lay heaped across the narrow street for a distance of many yards, and after the fight had terminated, a pony, which had been ridden by a mandarin, was extricated unhurt from the ghastly mass in which it had been entombed so completely as to have at first escaped observation.

The boldness of this attack, both in its plan

and execution, excited, as may be imagined, much astonishment among the British troops, who, from the severe and still recent example made of the defenders of Chin-hae, and from the ease with which the force assembled at Yu-Yao had been dispersed in January, little expected to find the aggressive thus intrepidly assumed by the Chekiang division of the imperial army.

It appeared, however, from the information given by the prisoners, that the force which had been launched against our position consisted exclusively of men who had never before been opposed to British troops, nor witnessed the destructive effects of musketry and grape-shot.

Among their number, also, upon this occasion, had been a large body of half savage mountaineers, from the country of the Maou-tses, who, it is said, have never yet submitted entirely to the yoke of the Tartars; as a strong proof of which, it may be observed, that this hardy race alone, of all the population of the empire, do not conform to the national custom of wearing the long tail of hair, by the compulsory imposition of which the Tartars

have so strikingly marked their conquest over the southern inhabitants of the empire.

Many of these men were taken, wounded, from the pile in the suburb, and attended by our surgeons in the military hospitals. Their appearance and habits seemed ferocious and uncivilized, and the style of their features showed a marked difference from that stamped upon the faces of the Chinese, having low, receding foreheads, broad, flat noses, and sinewy limbs, besides other physical evidences of a barbarous condition, and an active and muscular habit of body.

These men had evidently been highly paid by the imperial government for the work of that night, on the successful completion of which they were doubtless to have received still greater rewards, for upon the bodies of the slain were found, besides the long keen knives with which they were all armed, a small pouch, containing almost invariably six dollars of the esteemed pillar coinage.

An eye-witness has given an anecdote characteristic of the scene in the following words:— "As I was picking my way clear of the reeking mass which obstructed the street, the men,

as they passed on, were snatching from the dead the little purses in which the discovery of the dollars had been made; and as I stepped by one of them, a son of the emerald isle, who was examining the contents of one which he had just appropriated from the girdle of a soldier, whose temples had been literally crushed in by a shot, I heard him say, 'Bad luck to ye! ye've bin an' spint one of 'em; here's only five.'"

The terrible example, however, of the prowess of the enemy they had been hired to destroy, which was given them by Colonel Montgomerie's sortie in the streets of the suburb, doubtless had a lasting effect in deterring them from again entering into so fatal a contract, for the Maou-tses were never more encountered in the field by the British troops, a fact which warrants the remark, that, repugnant to the feelings of humanity as the wholesale destruction of life which took place in most of our engagements with the Chinese confessedly was, its infliction was justified by the important consequences which invariably attended it—viz., the total rout and discomfiture of a foe in open fight, as it was ascertained that upon no occa-

sion during the war was a division of the enemy's troops which had been defeated with slaughter, such as that of Chin-hae or Ningpo, arrayed a second time against us. So that every engagement which was fought inflicted upon the hosts of the Chinese a loss, not only of those slain and captured in the field, but of the entire *corps d'armée* engaged, which, as far as regarded their future service against the British force, was put entirely *hors de combat*.

Simultaneously with the attack on Ningpo, an attempt was made to surprise the gates of Chin-hae, but the veteran officer who commanded there, Colonel Schoedde, of the 55th regiment, having been warned by Mr. Thom, a gentleman attached to his staff in the capacity of interpreter, that danger threatened, had taken every precaution that prudence could suggest, by doubling the guards at nightfall, and patrolling the ramparts with strong picquets; so that, on the approach of the enemy's columns, they were received with so destructive and heavy a fire, that they drew off at once, and were soon beyond the reach of pursuit.

For some time previous to this event, Mr. Thom had observed among the native traders, who had returned to their occupations since the capture of the place by the British, a movement which his knowledge of their habits and characteristics had led him to suspect was the forerunner of some evil, incited and directed by the dreaded mantali, (mandarins,) and more especially on the day preceding the attack, when numbers of the inhabitants were seen closing their shops and leaving the town.

From these people, however, still overawed and influenced by the threats and edicts of the mandarins, nothing could be elicited as to the cause of their departure, and the day had closed without producing any evidence to confirm or to dispel the doubts in that gentleman's mind regarding the security of the post to which he was attached; but when on the point of entering the citadel, on the hill where he resided, previous to the closing of the gates for the night, a piece of paper was thrust into his hand by a little boy, who immediately ran down the steep hill and disappeared. Upon examination, the missive was found to contain a warning, from some

person unknown, that his safety was compromised, for that a large body of troops were on their march to attack the city that night. Fortunately the warning was not disregarded, and the precautions were taken which resulted in the repulse of the enemy already described.

CHAPTER XXI.

Chinese preparing for a movement on Ningpo—Operations of the British against Tai-sham—Attempt of the Chinese to burn shipping—Disappearance of the enemy—Disembarkation of the troops—Chinese encampment—Dispositions for an attack—Defeat of the Chinese—Their forces—A wounded mandarin—Chinese weapons—Chang-ki Pass—Troops return to their quarters.

On the morning of the 10th, a steamer was dispatched to Chusan, to convey intelligence to the general and admiral of the affair of the preceding night, and Sir Hugh Gough, having promptly returned, prosecuted inquiries with all diligence respecting the force which had so daringly beaten up the quarters of his army.

Mr. Gutzlaff soon contrived to find out, through his native informants, that a strong division of Chinese troops, five to six thousand in number, commanded by a Tartar general, had arrived in the vicinity of Fungwa, and were preparing for a movement upon Ningpo, in

concert with a force under the renowned chief, Yang, who had for some time been assembling and forming a camp near the town of Tse-kee, to the westward, and whose numbers had been recently augmented by considerable reinforcements from the north.

Acting upon this, Sir Hugh Gough quitted Ningpo on the morning of the 13th, with a force of about 900 men of all arms, and moved rapidly in the direction of Fungwa, in the hope of encountering the Chinese division and destroying it in detail, before it could effect a junction with Yang or retreat beyond the reach of his own column.

The Sesostris steamer, the only one left in the river, accompanied the main column, with some companies of the 26th regiment, and seamen and marines on board, while the general and the remainder of the troops marched along the river's bank.

The progress of this expedition was, however, shortly arrested by information received on the road, that the enemy, who had advanced on the 11th as far as a village only seven miles distant from Ningpo, were now beyond the reach of our troops, having retreated the preceding day over

a high range of hills in a south-westerly direction. The troops accordingly countermarched to Ningpo, and there awaited the arrival of the light-draught steamers to transport them to Tse-kee, near which it was understood the enemy were making great preparations to give them battle, in the position which they had before occupied on the heights of Segaon.

On the 14th, Sir William Parker arrived in the river, bringing with him the Queen, Nemesis, and Phlegethon, which had been detained by him until that date to carry on some operations against an island called Tai-sham, situated in the Chusan group, north-east of the harbour of Ting-hae, a point upon which some troops had been collected for the ostensible purpose of making a descent upon Chusan as soon as the expected success at Ningpo had struck the desired panic into the hearts of the British troops. Information of this hostile demonstration had reached Captain Dennis, the magistrate of Ting-hae, upon whose representation the admiral sent the Nemesis to visit the spot, and make the requisite inquiries. Captain Collinson, R.N., accompanied Captain Hall on this occasion, and on their arrival at Tai-sham, finding war-boats at anchor,

and evident signs of the presence of troops on shore, they at once commenced hostilities, and before they returned contrived to burn several of the enemy's transport craft, and to destroy some of their troops.

An attack upon Chusan was manifestly contemplated in the plan which the Chinese authorities attempted to carry through upon so comprehensive a scale about this time, for after the arrival of troops in Tai-sham had been reported, an attempt was made to burn the shipping in the outer and inner harbours by fire-rafts, which were towed round the points of land, and slipped with the tide upon the anchorage. This attempt, like all others of a similar description made during the war, proved utterly abortive; the flaming rafts having been towed on shore by the boats of the naval squadron and transports, without any accident to the shipping, though a few casualties occurred among the seamen in the boats, chiefly through explosions of gunpowder on board the rafts. The vessels employed in this instance to set fire to our fleet were better than those usually seen, being large strong boats crammed and piled up with brushwood, straw, oil, and other combustibles, and having chests of

powder at the bottom, to explode and scatter the burning fragments among the ships. Many of these fire-vessels had been prepared at Sin-Kong and Sun-Ka-mun, fishing villages on the shores of Chusan, distant twelve to thirteen miles from Ting-hae, the residence of the commandant of the British force in the occupation of the island. On receiving the report of the Nemesis, Sir William Parker ordered all the brigs and small-class vessels of war, which were then in harbour, to proceed to Tai-sham to cruise round the island and cut off all communication between it and the main land, his excellency proceeding shortly afterwards with the steamer, and a considerable body of seamen, marines, and troops from the garrison, in the confident expectation of finding a strong division of the Chinese army awaiting him, cooped up within the narrow limits of their insular position.[1]

On his arrival, however, the enemy had disappeared, and it was evident that they had evacuated Tai-sham immediately after the departure of the Nemesis with the news of their presence, most probably in consequence of orders to that effect received from Chapoo, after intelligence of the repulse at Ningpo had reached the authorities

in that city. At Chapoo, at all events, the fishing-boat people and others about the island said they had gone, and by their description it was evident that a great prize had escaped us, the troops having amounted to 3000 or 4000, with some guns, abundance of arms and ammunition, and other moveables of a coast army. Disappointed in the result of this expedition, the admiral lost no time in reaching Ningpo, that he might be enabled to take part in the operations about to be carried on against the Chinese troops in the intrenched camps, and other positions, which they had taken up in the open country to the westward of the town. He took with him about 200 seamen and marines, principally from the Blonde and Cornwallis, which, added to a party taken from the Modeste and Columbine, constituted a body of 350 bayonets, which were placed at the disposal of the general, and united to the force which he had withdrawn from Ningpo for the contemplated expedition to Tse-kee, and which, as before stated, amounted to about 900 men of all arms, with four light field-pieces.

On the morning of the 15th, the whole were embarked in the Queen, Phlegethon, and Neme-

sis, and proceeded up the river in a north-easterly direction, to a point distant about four miles from Tse-kee, where they disembarked and pushed forward towards the high range of hills, on whose summit they discerned innumerable white tents, forming an encampment of vast extent. The troops moved on in the highest spirits, thankful to have escaped from the life of apathy and inaction which they had been leading at Ningpo during the last five months.

The country afforded tolerable ground to move over, and the trained ponies of the artillery did good service here in dragging the guns with sufficient expedition to keep well up on the line of march, sparing the gunners much of the fatigue which they must otherwise have endured. After about an hour's march, the head of the column came within long range of the ramparts of the town, from which a few round shot were discharged at it without effect, and the troops, halting on the fields which spread out before the city in luxuriant vegetation, awaited the order for attack.

Sir Hugh Gough now moved on with Sir William Parker, accompanied by the staff, and reconnoitred the town and the extensive position

taken up by the enemy, apparently in great force, as large bodies of troops, with streamers and pennants of all colours fluttering over their ranks, were forming in dense masses on the brow of the heights, which make a sort of amphitheatre, encompassing the city on three sides. It soon became apparent to the experienced eye of the general, that the Chinese leaders expected no serious resistance in the town, and that their main efforts would be directed against his assaulting columns on the right and centre of their position, displaying therein, as usual, their miserable deficiency in the ordinary rules of strategy, and affording additional proof of the pertinacious folly with which they still clung to the idea that their popular system of warfare (that of fighting by demonstration, and expecting victory through the awe-inspiring influence of military pomp, display, and noise, instead of strength of arm and skill at the weapon) could be made to prevail against the spirit and steadiness of disciplined troops.

The dispositions for the attack were promptly made, and were carried into effect without confusion or delay. The troops were directed to enter the city at various points, pass through it

to the gate opening upon the plain enclosed between the ramparts and the heights of Segaon, on which the enemy were posted, and there, dividing into three columns, the ascent of the slopes was to be made on the right, centre, and left, with such intervals of time between the advance of the right column and that of the other two as should allow of the former crowning the left of the enemy's position, and from thence, taking advantage of the command which the ridge at that time afforded over the remainder of the range, to enfilade by their fire the centre and right encampments, and direct their march so as to intercept the retreat of the enemy, and bring his columns into the range of two fires. Had this judicious plan been persevered in, the results of the engagement would have been much more destructive to the enemy, though they could scarcely have proved more brilliant and successful; for the 49th regiment in the centre, and the seamen and marines on the left, unchecked by the heavy fire which the enemy maintained upon their columns throughout the arduous ascent of the heights, speedily gained the summit, and drove the enemy from their intrenchments at the point of the bayonet with

HEIGHTS OF SEGAON

great slaughter, but not until many officers and men in their own ranks had fallen.

The 49th were the first to gain the enemy's position, and the general, who had accompanied them, perceiving that by a flank movement to their left they might cut off the retreat of the Chinese troops, who occupied the hill which the naval brigade was then in the act of ascending, directed the regiment to move down the heights on the opposite side, and throw two companies into the rear of a strong body of the enemy who were observed marching towards the right of their position, to support the intrenchment threatened by the advance of the royal marines and seamen, under Captain Bourchier; the manœuvre was eminently successful, and as the defenders of the hill recoiled from the charge of Lieutenant Elliott's company of marines on the crest of the ridge which they had surmounted, the supporting body, thrown into confusion by the throng of fugitives, halted, opened a feeble fire to their front, and then broke and fled down the slope of the hill, at whose foot the 49th were awaiting them with loaded firelocks.

The naval brigade now came pouring down the heights, bayoneting and hewing down all

before them, and the 49th at the same time pressing upon their rear and flank, they soon sank under the murderous fire thus accumulated upon them, but few out of the whole body thus hemmed in escaping unhurt from the field, which was strewn far and wide with their slain. But the object for which the detour of the right column, consisting of the 18th regiment and rifle company, had been ordered, was entirely frustrated by the haste with which the advance of the centre and left columns had been precipitated, for on completing their laborious march and ascent of the left extremity of the heights, the 18th found no enemy to oppose them, and perceived that the plain below was covered with fugitives; they accordingly lost no time in descending, and moved across the fields in the direction of the Chang-ki Pass, to which the main body of the Chinese were endeavouring to effect their escape.

The 26th regiment, which had been left in reserve with the guns, to act as occasion might suggest, now also pushed forward and joined in the pursuit, which was kept up for a considerable distance along the road leading to Yu-yao, the fields on either side being thickly covered with the

bodies of the slain. The 18th regiment succeeded in turning a great portion of the retreating mass from the opening to the Chang-ki Pass, and inflicted severe loss upon them as soon as they got them within musket range, discontinuing their chase only when the close of day compelled them to return to the position which the general had taken up for the night, in the centre of the long line of encampment from which the Chinese forces had been driven.

The loss of the British during the engagement at Tse-kee was, as usual, trifling, and considering the length of time that the left and centre columns were exposed to the enemy's fire, and the rapid manner in which their gingalls were served, appeared truly miraculous: the proportion of officers hurt was great, in consequence of the heavy nature of the ground over which the advance was made, by which they became more exposed to the enemy's matchlock men, and came in many cases into personal conflict with their swordsmen before the columns could close upon their position. In the 49th regiment alone, out of seven casualties three were officers; and in the naval brigade, four out of fifteen.

The loss of the enemy was great: they left upon the field of battle from 400 to 500 killed and wounded, while many more were slain or drowned in the pursuit. A few prisoners were taken, amongst them three mandarins of inferior rank, one of whom stated himself to belong to the imperial guard, of which a detachment 500 strong had been engaged on that day. From information given by the prisoners, and from some returns and public documents found in the tents, the total number of men who stood on the side of the Chinese on the heights of Segaon was estimated at between 7000 and 8000, of whom a great proportion were troops from the northern provinces, men of more hardy and warlike habits, and of greater sinew and muscular power than the ordinary troops of the central and maritime districts: they had never before encountered the British forces, and their confidence in the result of the contest appears to have been unbounded; for on examining the camp, it was found that the whole of their baggage, including every moveable article of their kit, had been left behind in their flight, nothing having been removed save the arms carried on the persons of the soldiers. A good deal of sycee

silver was found secreted in the better class of tents, but no military chest was discovered.

An officer has recorded, that in crowning the right of the enemy's position the troops mingled with the Chinese, and passed through some lines of tents on the summit of the hill as they drove them out of their intrenchments. In his progress he was arrested by the groans of a wounded man, who was stretched on a couch in the corner of a tent; he gave the poor wretch, who had the button of a mandarin, some water, or performed some kindly office to him which humanity dictated, and the man, catching him by the arm as he was leaving the tent, pointed eagerly to a heap of clothes near him, and made signs that he should lift them up. He did so, in the expectation that he should find beneath some victim of the fray, but to his surprise his eyes fell upon a glittering heap of sycee silver: he looked to the mandarin for explanation, when he gesticulated earnestly that he should take it, which he accordingly did, and, assembling the men of his company who were with him, shared the prize among them on the spot. They did what they could for the wounded man, and hurried on to overtake the column. When the fight was

over, the officer went back with a few men to look after the grateful sufferer, when he found the tent consumed, and the mandarin scorched and blackened, and quite dead.

A vast number of ginjalls, matchlocks, arrow-rockets, and small-arms of all descriptions, with ammunition and military stores in abundance, were collected on the morning after the engagement, and destroyed, and a few pieces of six and twelve-pound calibre, found on the ramparts of Tse-kee and in the vicinity, were rendered unserviceable. Among the strange and incongruous mélange of weapons and engines of destruction found in the encampment, were eight or nine long brass tubes, cast with a bore for a three-pound ball, having a quantity of strong silk wound round their whole length, and paid over all with catgut. They were not mounted, but appeared as if intended for use after the fashion of ginjalls, upon the ordinary tripod on which that serviceable and destructive weapon is rested when worked. Grain, flour, salt, and other commissariat supplies, were found in some abundance, and the British soldiers enjoyed comfortable shelter for the night beneath the tents

of their enemies, strewed with the bedding which had been left in their hasty flight.

On the 16th March, the wounded having been sent to the rear under a guard, to be embarked on board the steamers, and the destruction of all the arms and stores collected on the heights being effected, Sir Hugh Gough, having directed the long lines of tents and some buildings which had contained military stores to be set on fire, moved forward with the troops in the direction of the Chang-ki Pass, in which it still appeared, from the statements of the country people, that a strong force remained intrenched, protecting the military chest and main magazines of the army of Che-kiang. On the arrival, however, of the column at the foot of the pass, distant between six and seven miles from Tse-kee, it was found, to the great mortification of all, that the strong position recently occupied by the enemy had been abandoned, although great pains and labour had evidently been bestowed upon it, by throwing up breastworks and batteries on various commanding eminences, to increase the strength which it naturally possessed, through the rugged and steep features of the hills which lay beneath.

The retreat of the Chinese had been sufficiently well-timed to allow them ample leisure to carry off all their guns, treasure, and much of their ammunition; and as no trace of their further movements had been discerned, the general resolved to retire to Tse-kee, to obtain shelter for the troops for the night, which could not be found on the Chang-ki hills. Everything in the pass which fire could consume was destroyed, including a large store of most excellent white bread, baked in regular ration loaves; and so large was the quantity discovered, that after every man of the force had eaten as much as he could, and filled his havresack with a supply for two days, enough yet remained to satisfy an equal number of hungry campaigners.

From this and other circumstances, especially the extent of the position, it was inferred that a very considerable force had been assembled here, and their hasty evacuation of a point which could with ease have been maintained by proper troops against the small force which threatened it, proved how irretrievably their confidence had been lost and the panic which had seized their ranks on the disaster at Tse-kee. The British troops remained in the town during the night of the 16th,

and on the following morning marched back to the steamers, with the exception of a small detachment sent under the chief engineer, Captain Pears, upon the route to Chin-hae, it having been considered advisable to ascertain the nature and practicability of the communication for the transport of ordnance or military stores, and to break up any post of refuge which the enemy might have formed in that part of the province. The result was highly satisfactory; the branches of the canal being found to extend in a line but little broken the whole way, an item of information which might have been turned to important account, had it been acquired long before instead of after the lapse of five months since our occupation of the capital, and our nominal control over the eastern portion of the province.

The general, with the main body of the troops, reached Ningpo on the 17th, and the men returned to their quarters. At this period the British troops were in a state of the utmost efficiency; their health strengthened by the bracing influence of the winter they had just passed; their habits of discipline and military economy improved and confirmed, by the attention of their regimental officers and by the good regulations

established by the commander-in-chief; the injurious predilection for samshoo, which had proved so fatal to the men of the expedition of 1840, had now been uprooted to a very great extent throughout the force, and a readiness and aptitude on active service, which are only to be acquired by experiencing the privations and reverses which their absence never fails to entail, characterized all ranks.

MILITARY SKETCH

of the Attack on the Chinese Position on the Heights of SEGAON,

on the 15th March 1842.

Reduced, from a Sketch by
The Madras Field Engineer Department;
Signed T. T. Peare, Captain,
Field Engr. East.n Expedition.

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CHAPTER XXII.

Attack on Chapoo—Chinese gunners—Chapoo a Tartar garrison—the British enter the city—Heroic conduct of the Tartars—They take possession of a joss-house—Dangerous position of the British—Death of Colonel Tomlinson—The joss-house set on fire—Tartar indifference to life—Survivors set at liberty.

It will be apparent that, with the exception of the affair of Tse-kee, which has been described, no important advantage had been gained over the Chinese, nor any actual progress made in the prosecution of the war, since the establishment of the British force in the province of Che-kiang and the island of Chusan in 1841. Unexpected difficulties of tides and currents, and of means of supply and transport, had prevented the carrying out of various well-devised operations intended against the important and strongly garrisoned town of Hang-chow-foo, the capital of the province, and it was finally resolved by the naval and military commanders-in-chief, that

the town of Chapoo, situated on the east coast, about thirty to thirty-five miles distant from Hang-chow, should become the next object of attack. Accordingly, after considerable delay, the troops were withdrawn from Ningpo, and dropped down the river to Chin-hae, where they were finally embarked on board the transports on the 6th May, 1842. Although the distance does not exceed sixty miles, the voyage occupied nine days. On the 17th, the day following the arrival of the fleet off Chapoo, a reconnoissance was ordered, and dispositions for the attack were made by the admiral and general, which were carried into effect on the 18th, with an alacrity and ardour which speedily resulted in a complete overthrow of the Chinese forces.

In the earlier period of the war in 1840, her Majesty's brig Algerine, commanded by Lieutenant Mason, when on her way to the mouth of the Yang-tse-kiang, in company with the Conway frigate, paid a flying visit to this port, upon which occasion a fire was opened upon her from some works near the town, which was well sustained for some time, during which the coolness and steadiness of the Chinese gunners elicited much applause from the officers and crew of the

brig. The Algerine having anchored with her broadside bearing on the battery which annoyed her, shortly silenced its fire, and having fulfilled the object of examining the sea defences of the place, made sail for her point of rendezvous.

On account of the exposed position of Chapoo, the adjoining coast offering facilities for landing troops at many points, and the town itself being commanded by some heights within short range of the ramparts, it was not expected that the Chinese would expose their city to the rigours of war, by attempting any serious resistance. These anticipations, however, were not realized; and it was at this place that the first instance was offered of the remarkable tenacity with which the Tartars cling to their homes, and prefer death in its most appalling forms to their surrender to strangers. The town of Chapoo became a Tartar garrison post at the period when the Mant-chow dynasty, having firmly established itself on the throne of the celestial empire, distributed troops over its provinces at all the more important and commanding points. The Tartars in Chapoo occupied the north-west angle of the city, residing with their families in com-

plete seclusion from the Chinese inhabitants of the place, from whose streets and dwellings they were separated by a regular line of rampart, connected with the main walls on the north and west faces. The residences of the governor and the principal military and civil officers, as also the arsenal, treasury, gaols, and other government buildings, are situated in this Tartar citadel, as it may be called, and as the Tartars may be said generally to have no calling but that of arms, although often connected with traders of all sorts, every male inhabitant is available for its defence, whether against any sudden outbreak amongst the Chinese, or the attack of a common enemy. Contrary to what appears to be their ordinary custom in war, the Tartar troops on this occasion quitted their city, and took up a position on a range of hills commanding the shore, where it was likely that the landing of the British forces would take place, in the centre of which a strong redoubt and some intrenchments had been thrown up.

Adjoining the suburb, which extends between the city and the shore on the east side, is a small harbour, protected from northerly winds and currents by a bluff projection of the coast, and on the

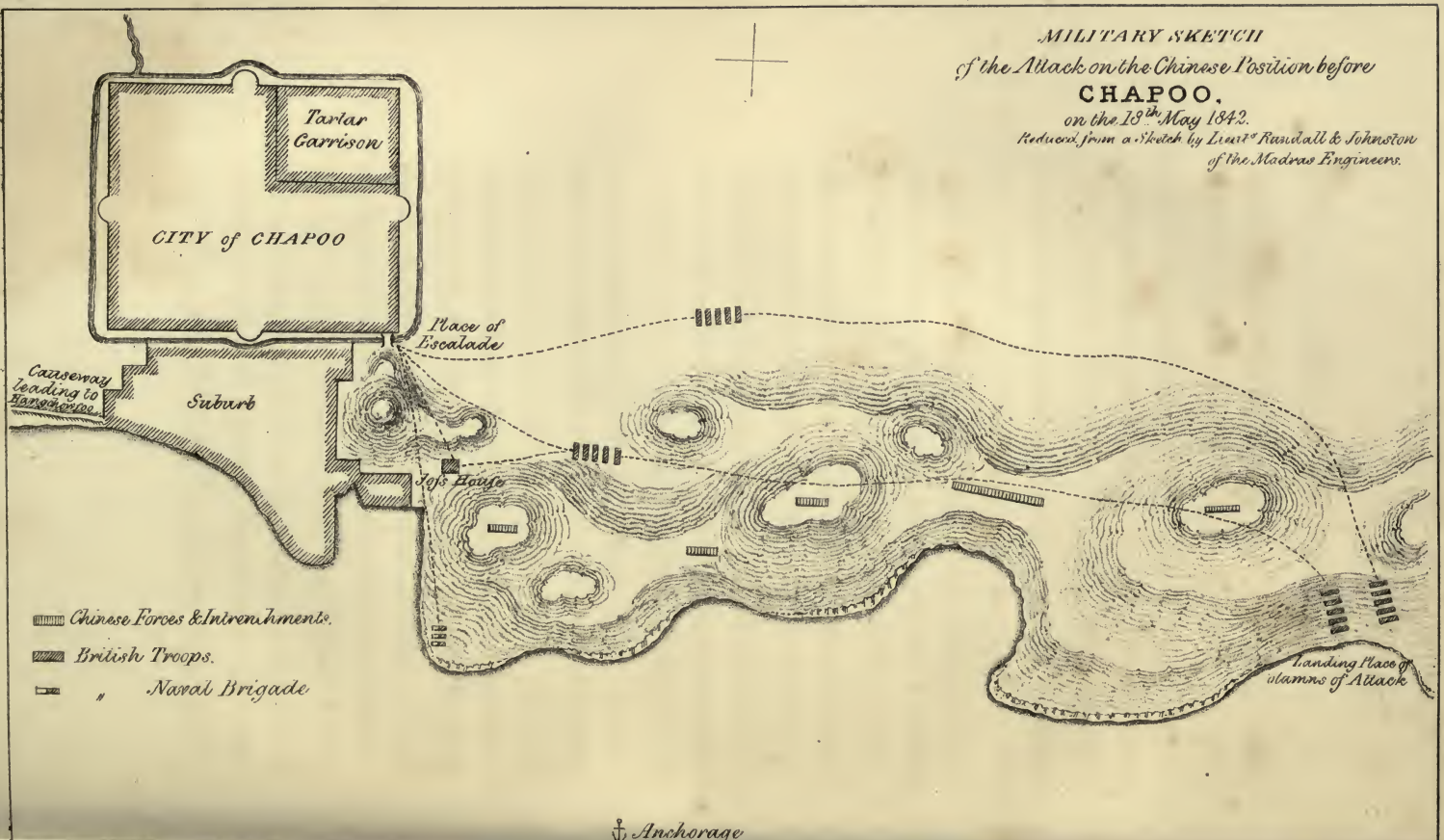
south by a sort of mole, on the extremity of which a circular stone fort and some batteries were erected, well calculated to offer serious resistance to the entrance of steamers and boats into the harbour; but this support to their defence appears to have been purposely neglected by the Tartar general, who, undismayed by the fatal warning given at Chin-hae, Tse-kee, and other places where the British forces were encountered without the aid of stone walls and batteries, took the resolution of offering battle on ground where British discipline, experience, and mode of warfare, gave a fearful advantage over his own unskilled and ill-armed ranks.

On the 8th May, the whole of the troops, supported by a detachment of seamen and marines, landed, and formed in two columns. The right, under the command of Colonel Schoedde, of her majesty's 55th regiment, was directed to turn the left of the position taken up by the enemy, parallel to the shore, and to march by their rear, in the direction of the town, so as to intercept the retreat of the main body posted on the hills, while the left column, commanded by Colonel Morris, of her majesty's 49th regiment, advanced up the heights to take

the Chinese intrenchments in flank, and drive their defenders into the plain, where the right column was preparing, by a rapid advance, to cut them off from the town.

Upon the extreme left of their line, the enemy defended themselves with considerable resolution, maintaining for some time a smart fire of ginjalls and matchlocks upon the heads of the advancing columns, until, dismayed by the effects of some shells thrown into their position by the steamers, and by the rapid approach and opening musketry of the 49th regiment, they broke and ran, descending the slope of the heights, in the direction of the city, and scattering themselves over the fields, where their numbers were soon augmented by the fugitives from the redoubt, and from the centre of the enemy's position, who had been driven thence by the advance of the left column, though not before some resistance had been made, many of the Tartars encountering their assailants hand to hand, and wielding their two swords (one being carried in the left hand to parry thrusts) with some effect.

The enemy gave way too soon to admit of much loss being inflicted on them upon the heights, but, on retreating to the foot of the


MILITARY SKETCH
of the Attack on the Chinese Position before
CHAPOO,
on the 18th May 1842.
Reduced from a Sketch by Lieuts Randall & Johnston
of the Madras Engineers.
Tartar Garrison
CITY of CHAPOO
Place of Escalade
Causeway leading to Hangchow
Suburb
Joss House
Chinese Forces & Intrenchments.
British Troops.
" Naval Brigade
Landing Place of Columns of Attack
Anchorage

slope, the mass of fugitives was encountered by the right column of the British troops, which having completed the circuit of the left and centre of the Chinese position, opportunely arrived at the point at which their troops were gaining the open country before any considerable number had got beyond the range of the musketry, which at once opened upon them with deadly effect.

In the meantime the left column, after having cleared the heights of the enemy, pursued their march along the road leading towards the city, which was entered by escalade at the north-east angle, without opposition, the troops parading the ramparts as victors, with all the pomp of unfurled colours, and the music of their bands.

While this scene of triumph, however, was enacting, a desperate struggle was still going on in the very heart of the enemy's recent position, from which, to all appearance, they had been entirely driven.

The extreme right of their line had been occupied by a body of about three to four hundred Tartar troops, who, on observing the rout of their left and centre, retreated in good order towards the town, which they evidently ex-

pected to reach by the road along which the British left column had made good its advance. On reaching this, however, after descending from the hill which they had occupied, they must have become aware that their retreat was already cut off by the advance of the right column behind the heights, while at the same time the direction taken by the naval brigade, which had landed on the rocky point facing the circular stone battery or mole, showed them that escape through the suburb towards the south was also effectually prevented.

Driven to desperation by their situation, with two brigades advancing directly upon them, these brave men never for a moment appear to have contemplated a surrender, but threw themselves into a large building, partly a joss-house, partly a place of abode, situated at the bottom of a valley formed by the slopes of the right extremity of the Chinese heights and of a small range of hills between it and the city. So secluded, however, was the position which they had now taken up, that the main body of the British left column, inclining to the right before they reached the head of the valley, had skirted the base of the lower range of hills, and passed on,

without being aware of the existence of the body of desperate men whom they had left in their rear. This was the case also with the naval brigade, whose columns passed to the left of the valley, and crossing the lesser range of hills, entered the town at the point selected for escalade by the assaulting columns of the troops, and a clear road was thus opened for the escape of the party in the joss-house, whose triumph would have been justly great had they succeeded in availing themselves of the opportunity thus afforded. It happened, however, that a small body of men, who had detached themselves from the British left column, with the intention of crossing the spur of the low range which formed one boundary of the valley in which the Tartar troops lay, inclined to the left when they reached its head, and came suddenly upon the joss-house, receiving at the same time a volley from the matchlocks of a party drawn up in its front. Instantly perceiving the critical position in which matters stood, and the importance of preventing the retreat of the enemy, the detachment, which consisted of no more than thirty men of the 18th and 49th regiments, and sappers and miners, with a few seamen and artillerymen of the Ne-

mesis, under Captain Hall, closed upon the building, and opened a fire upon its entrance, which was briskly returned by the Tartars, whose repeated cheering led our troops every instant to expect a desperate sortie, a step which must have entailed total annihilation upon them if vigorously pushed.

In the meantime, Captain Pears, the chief engineer of the force, who happened to be with the detachment, dispatched messengers to give intelligence of what was passing in the valley, and to request that a reinforcement might be instantly forwarded from the columns which were hurrying on to take part in the triumphal progress through the city, their bugles sounding the advance for all straggling parties to come in. Happily a company of the 18th, commanded by Captain Edwards, was intercepted in its advance, and, accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel Tomlinson, who had heard what was passing, it proceeded to the valley, and uniting itself to the small detachment blockading the joss-house, formed a body which was considered strong enough to carry the building at the point of the bayonet.

As is usually the case with Chinese joss and

dwelling houses, especially those outside the walls of a city, the building in question had a single entrance only, so that the outer wall surrounding the whole tenement was entire, with this exception. In the interior there is generally a square paved court, surrounded by ranges of halls or rooms, either for the reception of images or idols or for the purposes of habitation, as the case may be, and their fronts, looking into the courts, are usually composed of ornamented trellis-work, covered with white paper, to exclude the glare of daylight and the night breezes. The Chapoo joss-house was thus constructed, its entrance or hall having a screen of masonry built up to it on the inside, so as to prevent a view of the interior court by persons outside the building; behind the trellis-work, which has been described, the Tartar soldiers silently awaited the attack of our detachment, and as soon as the leading files and officers had passed through the entrance, and emerged from behind the screen into the inner court, they opened upon them a fire which sent a perfect shower of matchlock balls into their ranks, killing and wounding most of those who had passed the fatal barrier, and amongst them the accomplished Colonel Tomlinson, who

was shot through the neck in the court, and expired almost immediately. Unable to see the foe who thus dealt destruction to all who set foot within the court, or to return with any effect the fire that was annihilating them, a retreat became unavoidable, and the men of the 18th having borne out their lamented colonel, the detachment was withdrawn to the outside of the building, to prepare for another and less hazardous attack. Soon after this, a party of artillery came up with some rockets, and Lieutenant-Colonel Knowles, who commanded, threw several into the building, but without any visible effect upon the resolution of the Tartars, whose cheers were as loud and as animated as ever. After some further delay, it was resolved to make a breach in the outer wall, near one of the angles of the building, and after a few round shot had been thrown into it from a field-piece which had come up, (Colonel Montgomerie, of the Madras artillery, at the same time arriving on the spot, and assuming the command of the attack,) a 50-pound bag of powder was placed at the foot of the wall by Captain Pears, and its explosion opened a wide entrance for an assaulting party. But here also success was denied to the determined efforts of

ENGAGEMENT AT THE JOSS-HOUSE NEAR CHAPOO.

our men, for the Tartars, cool and undismayed under all the horrors which had accumulated around them, received the storming party with so well-directed and heavy a fire from behind the trellis-work which surrounded the room in the wall of which the breach had been made, that, unable to penetrate beyond it or reach their enemy, the assailants were once more compelled to retreat with loss. Upwards of three hours had now elapsed since the first shot was fired, and during all this time, though hemmed in, their retreat effectually cut off, and exposed to a continued fire of shot, rockets, and musketry, no token of submission or disposition to surrender had been wrung from the Tartars. But now the resolution of some amongst them appeared to be giving way, as small parties of two and three every now and then sallied through the entrance, and made a dash to escape down the valley towards the harbour; but as the British detachment had been considerably augmented by stragglers coming in, the men were too widely spread to admit of their getting away, and the firing which these attempts brought down upon the luckless fugitives suffered scarcely one of them to succeed.

It was now resolved to set fire to the building, and a second breach having been blown in the opposite side, some wood was collected, and a fire kindled, which soon spread to the roof, composed of dry, light pine rafters and beams, and in a short time the house was reduced to ruins. Some fifteen or sixteen of the enemy, who became exposed by the throwing down of a portion of the outer wall, were destroyed by a volley from without, and on our troops being at length suffered to enter within the smoking and shattered walls, they found that all resistance had ceased. But few of the Tartars were bayoneted after the joss-house had been carried, and the survivors, most of whom were found crouching on the ground, with their arms folded, and their matchlocks and swords laid aside, in evident expectation of a violent death, and with a manifest resolution to meet it as became men, were taken out and shortly after set at liberty.

Of the whole body, however, who had originally taken post in the fatal joss-house, only sixty were made prisoners, many of them wounded, all the rest having been shot, bayoneted, or burned in the fire which consumed the building; the last must have been the fate of many of the

wounded, whose forms, writhing in the agonies of so frightful a death, were seen by the troops outside, who were unable to afford them succour.

The circumstances, so novel in their character, which rendered this affair with the Tartar troops prominent among the remarkable occurrences of the year 1842, had the effect of exalting them in no slight degree in the estimation of the British, who could not but think with respect of men who, though totally unaccustomed to and unpractised in modern warfare, and doubtless brought now for the first time under the fire of artillery and musketry, could yet maintain to the last such steady coolness and indomitable valour.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Road to Hang-chow-foo reconnoitred—Re-embarkation of the troops—Bay of Hang-chow—Harbour of Chapoo—Extent of the town—The "Tartar city"—Miserable spectacle—Self-destruction of the Tartars—Change of the scene—Loss of the British—The fleet make sail—Anchor off Woosung.

Quarters having been appropriated to the troops in the city, the arsenals and public stores were destroyed, and a body under the command of Major-General Schoedde was sent out to reconnoitre the road to Hang-chow-foo, with a view to a forward movement upon that rich and important town. The capture and occupation of Chapoo was a measure insignificant in itself, but of material consequence as a preliminary to a descent upon the capital of the richest province of the empire, where it was well known lay the head-quarters of the Chinese army, their military chest, their supplies, and materiel, together with a strong division of their best Tartar

troops, and a numerically powerful force of artillery.

Hang-chow-foo, also, had been the professed object of the leaders of the combined force during the period of inaction at Ningpo, which has been adverted to ; but although the result of Major-General Schoedde's reconnoissance was favourable to a movement upon that city, the naval and military commanders-in-chief decided that it might interfere with their ultimate operations in the Yang-tse-kiang, and therefore they ordered the re-embarkation of the troops, which was effected accordingly on the 28th May, and in the meantime all stores of gunpowder and arms, together with a few public buildings, were destroyed. The dwellings of the inhabitants of the outer town and suburb were of course extensively pillaged, and a great number situated in the neighbourhood of the harbour or eastern suburb were burnt to the ground, partly by the marauding Chinese, whose depredations usually commence simultaneously with the defeat of their troops.

The city of Chapoo derives its prosperity and importance as a sea-port mainly, if not wholly, from its being the entrepôt of the trade which

flows into Hang-chow-foo from Japan, the Bay of Petcheelee, Formosa, the towns on the coast, and the countries to the southward as far as Singapore. The great rapidity and irregularity of the tides in the bay of Hang-chow, with other causes, render the navigation of its entrance a matter of great difficulty and danger, even to a well-found vessel, and to junks, however skilfully guided amongst its banks and eddies, and it is probably altogether impracticable during the greater part of the year.

The harbour of Chapoo is not of great extent, measuring somewhat less than 400 yards across, but capable, nevertheless, of affording shelter to a considerable number of junks from the north-east monsoon, which is also the case with the bay, situated about a mile and a half to the northward of the town: into the latter, however, the southerly gales blow direct, and in the event of a vessel having to slip from an anchorage near this spot, much risk would be encountered before she could bring up again in safety, as no sheltered anchorage offers nearer than among the western islands of the Chusan archipelago.

The trade of this place, both of import and

transit, seems to be confined chiefly to the suburb; and although a few rather considerable stores of rice, sugar, cloth, &c., were found in it, the usual evidences of a trade of even moderate importance, in the shape of warehouses, wharfs, and other commercial structures, were wanting: it seems, however, probable that junks of considerable burthen pass through the harbour without discharging, and enter at once the line of inland navigation which branches from it, and pass on to Hang-chow, and to the grand canal, which is stated to be about thirty miles to the westward.

The extent of the town of Chapoo is also inconsiderable, the circuit of the walls not measuring more than three miles: its form is square, and about one-fourth of the inclosed space is occupied by the Tartar garrison and the government authorities. The walls are ancient, and although surrounded by a wet ditch, (which is in fact the canal carried round them,) are not defensible, as the ramparts of the north-east angle are commanded by heights, whence guns could be opened upon them at a distance of 500 yards, while their moderate elevation exposes them to escalade at all points.

As this place afforded the first opportunity which the expedition had enjoyed of examining that remarkable system of living apart from the Chinese, pursued by the Tartars in all towns where they have adopted permanent residences, much interest was excited by the investigation of the buildings included in what was styled the "Tartar city." It was found to contain, besides magazines for arms, powder, saltpetre, and grain, and a foundry upon a small scale, several exceedingly commodious ranges of barracks, consisting of rows of small houses in streets, with cooking-houses, and small plots of ground attached to every two, with guard-houses and parade-grounds in their vicinity, and the whole united in a manner which proved that the discipline maintained (as the sole foundation of the throne of the Mant-chow dynasty) would suffer but little by comparison with that of our more refined armies of Europe.

Miserable, however, was the spectacle presented by the interior of most of the better class of houses in the "Tartar city," on the entrance of our troops: strewed on the floors, or suspended from the rafters, were to be seen the bodies of women and young children, bloody

from the wounds by which their lives had been cut short, or swollen and blackened by the effects of poison. Impelled by the same feeling of exclusiveness and pride which characterizes their habits of life as well as of government, it seems that the Tartars of Chapoo, even when defeated and driven from their intrenchments on the heights, never for a moment contemplated removing their families from the town, and escaping beyond our pursuit, but, with a stern resolution to maintain to the last the inviolability of their homes, (which, though we decry it as barbarian, must yet command a share of our respect,) preferred staining them with their blood, to surviving to abandon them to the polluting touch and presence of the invader.

Of the females found dead and dying in the "Tartar city," many had evidently not been their own executioners, but the greater number appeared to have destroyed themselves by strangulation or by poison, after hearing of the defeat of their troops outside the city, and impelled, doubtless, by the exhortations and threats of the fugitives from the field, and by the near approach of the dreadful foreigners, at whose hands they had been taught to expect the most

unheard-of atrocities. Many Tartar soldiers were also found dead within the city, with their throats cut, apparently with their own daggers, who must have thus fearfully ended their career, after consummating the cruel sacrifice of the lives dearest to them. Some few, who yet retained life, were removed from the scene of desolation which their homes presented, and placed in a house which was converted into an hospital, where they received every care which surgical skill and the compassion felt for them could prompt; but many perished miserably, and these chiefly of the families of the mandarins and upper classes; and the day, which had dawned upon a town, trim and neat, and replete with life, and a gaily equipped force ranged upon its heights, full of confidence in their own valour and powers to defend the sanctity of the homes for which they fought, closed upon a scene of ruin and death, which must have been truly appalling to those who survived to witness the general desolation.

The heights, which but a few hours before had presented a gay panoply of banners, ginjalls, and matchlocks, were now covered with slain, as well as the fields in the rear, where the fire of the

Cameronians and 55th regiment had told with such effect upon the fugitive host; the joss-house in the valley near the suburb, which, in the morning a handsome and solid edifice, was now reduced to a heap of smoking and blackened ruins; and the suburb itself, which had been uninjured and entire, was now the scene of extensive conflagrations, whose blaze, spreading far and wide between the city and the harbour, fearfully revealed the horrors of the panorama, while, guided by it, large parties of Chinese marauders carried on their work of pillage and devastation among the shops and warehouses, with a celerity and effect which can only be fully conceived by such as have had to thread their way through the wreck of property and labyrinth of ruins and abomination which result from a single night's sack by these expert and daring miscreants. In the dwellings of the "Tartar city" all was silence and death.

Of the whole British force landed on that day, two officers, Lieutenant Colonel Tomlinson, 18th Royal Irish, and Captain Campbell, 55th regiment, were killed; and six officers, Staff-Lieutenant Colonel Mountain, Lieutenants Murray and Joddrell, 18th Royal Irish, Lieutenant

Brown and Captain Reignolds, of the 49th regiment, and Lieutenant Johnston, Madras engineers, were wounded; and of non-commissioned, rank and file, of all arms, eight were killed, and forty-four wounded. Of the enemy, the number left dead or to die on the field could not have been less than five to six hundred; and many more perished after the close of the action by suicide, or from the effects of their undressed wounds.

On the 28th May, the troops were marched down to the landing-place, and having embarked in the steamers of the squadron, were conveyed to the anchorage and put on board the transports without accident, and of course without molestation from the Chinese, crowds of the lower orders of whom witnessed (doubtless with much satisfaction) the removal of the only obstacle between them and their prey—viz., the untouched portion of the city, which must have remained at their mercy until the authorities of the province ventured to send a force to re-occupy it and to restore order. On the same day the fleet made sail for the mouth of the Yang-tse-Kiang, the point of destination being Woosung, the distance of which place from Chapoo does not exceed a hundred miles.

The fleet anchored off "Rugged Islands" on the 29th, remained there till the 5th June, moved on towards the river, anchored again on the 7th, at "Dangerous Rocks," sailed again on the 11th, and finally anchored off Woosung on the 13th, thus consuming fifteen days between the points of departure and destination.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Entrance of the river Yang-tse-Kiang—Island of Tsung-ming—Town of Shang-hae-heen—Woosung River—Fortifications on the banks—Cannonade—Batteries taken possession of—Military machines found at Woosung.

The entrance into the river Yang-tse-Kiang, or "Child of the Ocean," though it possesses no picturesque beauty, yet offers much in its physical and geographical aspect which is of great interest. Expanding at its mouth into an estuary of vast extent, it pours into the sea a mighty body of turbid water, so highly charged with earthy matter as to confirm the belief expressed by some writers, that, in conjunction with the Hoang-ho, or Yellow river, it is silently but surely effecting a change in the relation of the land and water on the shores of the China sea upon a scale commensurate with the prodigious amount of deposit which is being perpetually made.

In the middle of the estuary, and dividing the vast stream into two channels or mouths, lies the island of Tsung-ming, extending in length about twenty-five miles, formed by ancient deposits from its waters, and receiving from the same source constant additions, which must gradually create an alteration in the contour and soundings of the channels which wash its banks. Its whole surface, consisting of rich alluvial soil, being highly favourable to cultivation, is thickly covered with vegetation of every description, maintaining a considerable and thriving population, and containing two extensive towns and several large villages. Nearly opposite to the more important of the two former, which is called Tsung-ming, stands the town of Woosung, built on the right bank of the Yang-tse-Kiang, at its confluence with another river of the same name, which is supposed, in its course from the westward, to pass the important manufacturing town of Soo-chow-foo, and to be connected both with the grand canal and with an important line of inland navigation in the Che-Kiang province.

About twelve miles up the course of this river is situated the town of Shang-hae-heen, or great naval city, and as it is represented to be of im-

portance, on account of its extensive trade with Nanking, the admiral and general decided that it should be the next point of attack.

Before, however, entering the Woosung river, it was necessary to get possession of the formidable looking line of defences which on either side covered the approach to its mouth. The 14th and 15th of June were accordingly devoted to sounding the water in front of these works, and in buoying off a line of anchorage for the ships—a duty which was daringly performed by Commanders Collinson and Kennett, close under the guns of the Chinese, who, however, from some unaccountable motive, forbore to fire on the surveying boats, contenting themselves with the utterance of shouts and yells of derision or defiance.

All preparations having been completed, the squadron weighed on the morning of the 16th; and leaving the fleet of transports about four miles out in the stream, anchored as near to the line of works as the depth of the water would permit. The fortifications of this place did not indicate the same skill and industry in their construction as those at Amoy, Chusan, and Chinhae, the defences consisting simply of a line of

WOOSUNG.

rampart following the direction of the river's bank, and extending for about three miles up its course to a small fort called Pow-sham, which being isolated from it by its ramparts, afforded a tolerably good *point d'appui* for the left of their position. But not a single flanking defence had been constructed; so that wherever a vessel chose to take up her position, the only guns upon this absurd line of rampart which could be brought to bear upon her, were those immediately opposite to her overpowering broadside.

On the opposite or south bank of the Woosung river, stood an old fort of masonry, to which some additions had recently been made by carrying a line of earthen batteries round the point formed by the confluence of the two rivers; but these were incomplete, and but few guns were mounted on them which bore with any effect on the attacking squadron. The first discharge from the enemy's batteries was the most destructive witnessed during the day, the guns having, doubtless, been carefully laid while the ships were coming to an anchor—an opportunity which, had their artillery been in better case, instead of consisting of the clumsy, unbored, and unmounted pieces which we found

them, must have enabled their gunners to dismast the greater part of our vessels: as it was, several were hulled, and a round shot, the first which was thrown, killed a marine officer and two men on board the Blonde frigate; while another, laid for the Phlegethon steamer, took off the legs of her leadsman on her paddle-box. The cannonade was kept up by the squadron for nearly two hours, the batteries replying to it at intervals, but latterly with no vivacity or effect; and as soon as the steamers had completed their task of conducting the men-of-war to their stations, they were dispatched to bring up the troops.

The Tenasserim was the first that emerged from the smoke that enveloped the fleet; and while making direct for one of the transports, with her yards topped up, ready for running along-side, signals were descried at the mast-head of the flag-ship which at once changed her destination, and turning her head to the eastward, she was soon far distant from the disappointed tenants of the transports. The object of this counter-order was soon apparent: the North Star frigate was seen coming in from the outward passage, and crowding all sail to join the fleet; and the countermanded steamer towed

her abreast of the batteries before the bombardment had ceased, at the close of which the boats' crews and marines were landed, who entering the enemy's works at various points, speedily put to flight such of their troops as had remained in them, save on the extreme left at Pow-sham, where the Chinese, observing their assailants to be but a small body, and far detached from the nearest support, manned their parapets, and received them with so resolute a fire that they were compelled to retreat.

Shortly after the long line of batteries had been taken possession of by the seamen and marines, the troops were landed; and as all opposition had ceased, save at Pow-sham, the greater part were quartered in the joss-houses and public buildings behind the works, while the 26th Cameronians were marched along the ramparts to the left, to dislodge the Chinese who were thought to be still in force in that direction. The fort was, however, found to be evacuated, and was occupied by the regiment without a shot being fired.

The results of this success, save in the number of guns taken, which was great,* may be

* Say 200 to 250, in the various works on either side of the river.

regarded as insignificant, when considered in relation to the means employed to produce them, and the unscientific nature of the defences to which those means were opposed. The number of corpses of Chinese soldiers found in the works when the troops landed, did not amount to thirty, and as, from the open nature of the country in the rear of Woosung it is not likely that any but wounded men were carried off by their comrades, this number may be considered the maximum of their slain, while of prisoners there were none. The loss on our side amounted to three killed and twenty wounded, all belonging to the vessels of war, as the troops were in fact never engaged at all.

Amongst the curiosities in the shape of military machines found at Woosung, were two junks fitted each with four paddle-wheels about five feet in diameter, worked by two cranks fitted on axles placed athwart in the fore and after parts of the vessel. They were clumsy enough, but nevertheless useful craft for transporting troops on smooth water, as by making the whole party take their turn, and by working short spells at the cranks, great expedition could be used.

CHAPTER XXV.

Arrival of reinforcements—March on Shang-hae—Novel sight—British artillery drawn by Chinese labourers—Navigation of the Woosung river—Batteries cannonaded—The city of Shang-hae—Its advantageous position—Its ramparts and military establishments—Picturesque edifices—British troops in quarters.

On the evening of the 16th June, the day of the engagement, her Majesty's sloop Dido, twenty guns, anchored off Woosung, convoying a large division of transports, containing 2500 men of the reinforcements from India. But little time was lost in carrying out the designs of the joint commanders-in-chief upon Shang-hae; but as the intelligence obtained from the natives did not lead their excellencies to anticipate any resistance of a serious description, it was not thought necessary to employ the whole of the newly arrived force in the movement against that city, and accordingly only the 2nd regiment Madras native infantry, and detachments of ar-

tillery and sappers and miners, disembarked. Sir Hugh Gough formed this force in two divisions, of which one, under the command of Colonel Montgomerie, C.B., Madras artillery, was directed to march on Shang-hae, by the left bank of the river, while the other, under Major-General Schoedde, C.B., 55th regiment, was embarked on board steamers, which had also in tow a light-draught vessel of war, and proceeded by the river. The advance of Colonel Montgomerie's column was made without encountering any obstacles from narrow roads and intersecting streams which the sappers and miners were not able speedily to overcome. The inhabitants of the villages which were passed in the route lined the road, to gaze with wonder on the novel sight, especially at the imposing exhibition of field-pieces fully equipped, drawn by horses of a size and strength which must have been heretofore considered fabulous in these provinces, where nothing larger than the stunted Tartar pony is ever seen; but so little fear did the country people testify of our troops, when they found the most perfect discipline prevail in their ranks as they marched past their houses and gardens, that before the column had advanced a

couple of miles, the heavy scaling-ladders had been transferred by the sappers to the shoulders of willing, or, at least, not dissentient natives; and the drag-ropes of the guns, where an obstacle in the road rendered it necessary to unyoke the horses, were manned with Chinese labourers, mingled with our artillerymen; and their merry laugh, as one of their number chanced to lose his hold, and roll over, sounded as careless and joyous, as if they were amusing themselves with their fellows of the village, instead of aiding in dragging against the city of their rulers those terrible engines from which, on the appearance of Chinese troops in occupation of their villages and houses, ruin and death to all they held most dear would be poured forth.

In the meantime, the left column, accompanied by the two commanders-in-chief in the Medusa, proceeded up the river of Woosung in safety, with the exception of a body of artillery and sappers, left behind in the Sesostris, in consequence of that steamer having taken the ground by the stern, and broken her rudder short off. The men-of-war employed up the river were the North Star, Modeste, Clio, and Columbine, each in tow of a steamer; and although the naviga-

tion was by no means free from difficulties, the whole arrived without accident within half a mile of the town, having passed about midway a battery strongly placed and pierced for twenty guns, which had opened, the day previous, on a steamer sent to reconnoitre, but which was now found abandoned, and the guns withdrawn. Just below the town, the river, after running for a mile or more in a tolerably straight course, makes a sharp bend to the left, so as to bring a long line of bank at right angles to its former direction. Upon this admirable point for a battery the Chinese had thrown up an earthen parapet, and mounted eighteen guns behind it; and had these been worked by the most ordinarily skilful gunners, the squadron could scarcely have made its way past them, until a party had been landed to take the battery in flank. It was placed almost *à fleur d'eau*, and as its fire raked every vessel fore and aft as it advanced, the most terrible slaughter would have taken place amongst the troops, who were crowded in the steamers like sheep in a pen, and considerable damage would also have been caused to the masts and hulls of the vessels; but hardly one of their shot took effect upon anything, the

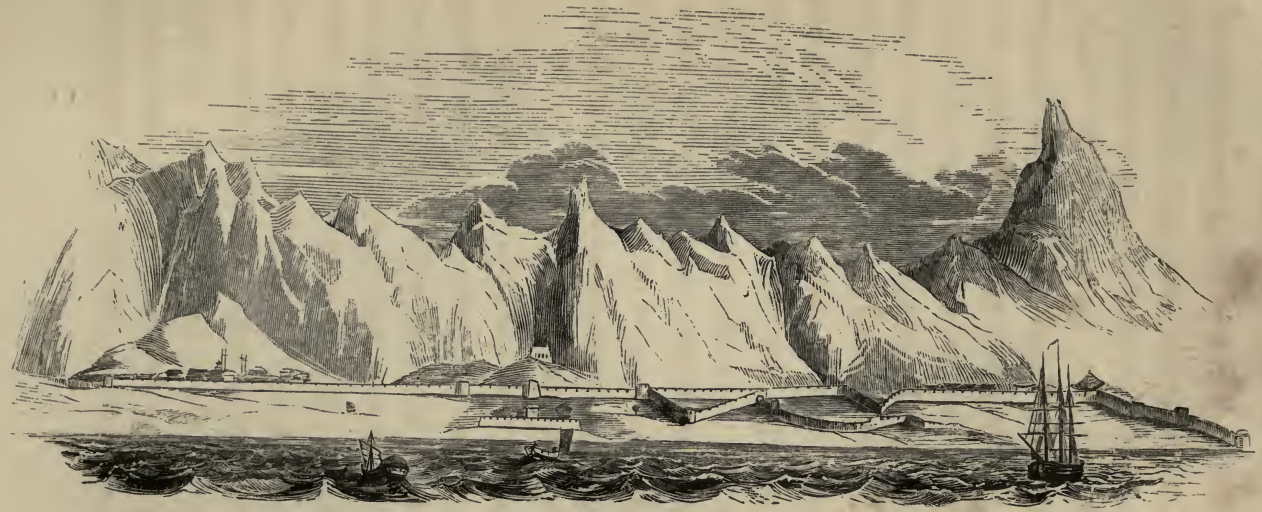
battery being silenced, and the gunners put to flight by a few broadsides from the men-of-war and shells from the steamers, without the loss of a man.

In the ardour of the cannonade, however, it was forgotten that, as the land column had commenced its march many hours before, it might reasonably be expected to have reached the vicinity of the town; and, to the great surprise of the men of Colonel Montgomerie's division, they heard, on a sudden, the report of guns close at hand, and found round shot hurtling over their heads, and fragments of exploded shells dropping near them, where nothing in the shape of an enemy's work was visible. As they moved on, however, a body of 500 or 600 Chinese troops was descried in the open country, hurrying from the battery with which the squadron had been engaged, but they were already too far off for pursuit, and a few rockets were discharged after the fugitives. On the approach of the grenadiers of the 18th regiment to the north gate of the city of Shang-hae, a few matchlocks were discharged at them from the walls; but on pushing forward, the place was found evacuated, and the column marched in without molestation, placing guards

upon the gates, and sending a party to the landing-place on the river's bank, to guide the division of Major-General Schoedde into the town.

Quarters were assigned to the troops, and measures were promptly taken to suppress pillage, but the lower orders of Chinese, the most desperate class of men perhaps existing when excited by the prospect of plunder, swarmed over the place, which had evidently been already for some time in their possession, as many of the principal habitations were found broken open, and thoroughly gutted; and it was with the utmost difficulty, and by having the streets continually patrolled in all directions by strong parties, that the town was preserved from utter ruin by fire and mob violence.

On the 20th, the Nemesis was dispatched up the river to reconnoitre, and to penetrate as near as possible to Soo-chow-foo. Captain Hall accordingly pushed on fully sixty miles, until finding the water regularly shoaling and no indications of a town or its approaches, he returned. It was afterwards ascertained at Nanking, that, at the point where he turned back, the smoke of the Nemesis was plainly seen from the walls of Soo-chow-foo, and that at a trifling distance



SHANG-HAE-HEEN.

ahead, there was at that very time a fleet of junks laden with sycee silver, from the treasury of Shang-hae, pressing on to get shelter in the city.

In returning, the steamer fell in with some junks, laden with coal, which the people described as being abundant in the neighbourhood, indicating the country between the south bank of the Yang-tse-Kiang and Soo-chow as the quarter whence it was obtained. The price which they stated it was sold for was equal to about 25s. per ton, though the quality was not good, and it did not appear to be fit for the furnace of marine steam-engines.

The failure of this attempt to find a passage to Soo-chow-foo determined the abandonment of the project for an expedition in that direction, and arrangements were made for withdrawing the troops from Shang-hae, and dropping down the river again, after a few days had been spent in the town, where the heat, it may be remarked, was found more oppressive and enervating than in any other occupied by the British troops during 1842.

Of the importance of Shang-hae as a place of trade we were but ill able to judge from any evi-

dence which met the eye on our arrival. A considerable fleet of trading junks was observed under sail making off up the river, when the leading vessels of the light squadron approached the town, but trade seemed to have been for some time suspended, all trace of activity having disappeared from the vicinity of the wharfs and landing-places.

Connected, however, as it is by an elaborate system of inland navigation with all the principal cities of the rich and productive province in which it is situated, among which Soo-chow-foo, the most important manufacturing town of the empire, occupies the foremost rank, Shang-hae must necessarily serve as the entrepôt of a considerable export and import trade, receiving, in exchange for the stuffs, silks, and wares of the province, the cargoes of grain, metals, and woollen goods, brought by the junks from Japan, Corea, Formosa, the southern ports, and Singapore.

The country immediately surrounding the city, as well as that seen during the voyage of the steamer up the river, appeared to produce little beyond grain, and some cotton of an inferior description; but as no inquiry was made

on this head by means of an excursion into the interior, no judgment can be pronounced upon the productive resources of the north-eastern part of Che-kiang from any personal observation.

It was remarked that no British manufactures, excepting clocks and watches, of which a few were found in the houses of the higher classes, appeared to be in use in this city.

Shang-hae is apparently a very ancient town, bearing on its walls and buildings, private as well as public, evidence of the ravages of long periods of time. Its ramparts are about four miles in extent, and well built, though they cannot be accounted strong, by reason of their insignificant height, which renders them easy of escalade at many points. The gateways, four in number, are well placed in square bastions, projecting clear of the main rampart, and having double entrances, so as to isolate the inner gates in the enceinte from the outer opening in the front face of the bastion.

About sixteen copper carronades were found mounted upon these advanced works, and, from their being exact copies of a modern 18-pounder carronade, excited some interest. The model had been exactly imitated, the sight being cast

on the piece, and the vent formed and pierced for a flint lock to be fitted, as in modern ship-guns. The carriages were properly built, and had four wooden trucks, with iron axles, the whole constituting the most serviceable engine of war which we had yet seen in the hands of the Chinese, save that the nature of the metal—"unmixed copper"—would not allow many rounds to be fired from it in rapid succession.

A smelting-house, and a small quantity of foundry-copper and utensils were found here and destroyed or removed, as were also some gunpowder, saltpetre, and arms found in store, but, generally speaking, the military establishments of Shang-hae do not appear to be upon an important scale; and although, from the heaps of stones collected along the banquettes of the ramparts, to be hurled upon the heads of assaulting columns, and from the quantity of matchlocks, ammunition, and other arms, found in the various guard-rooms which are scattered about the place, we were induced to believe that at one time the Chinese meditated a defence of the city, it does not appear likely that the authorities of the province attached much importance, in a military point of view, to the

position which it occupied. It had evidently, however, not been overlooked, and the marks of recent repairs to the walls, and the commencement of some new barracks in an open part of the town, near the dwellings of the principal government officers, shewed that it would have been included in their system of defence, and made the station of a body of Tartar troops, had time been afforded for its development.

The new barracks alluded to resembled closely those in the city of Chapoo, having roomy proportions, as well as spacious cooking-houses and other buildings which would render them fit for the reception of European troops. The soldiers' houses, which were square, and divided each into two rooms, were erected in rows, or streets, with guard and store rooms attached to each, the whole being inclosed by a wall, and entered by a pair of handsome double gates, adjoining which was a roomy main-guard, and in its vicinity were two larger houses, apparently intended for the reception of the military mandarins, or officers of the legion of imperial troops.

The most remarkable range of buildings at Shang-hae is situated nearly in the centre of the

town, and consists of various handsome and spacious halls and pagodas, built in a sort of square of great extent, surrounding a piece of water, in the centre of which are several picturesque edifices, approached by bridges of the usual Chinese form, like the letter A, and interspersed with fragments of rock, fancifully arranged groups of weeping willows and acacias, and creations of ornamental stone-work, in a very striking and pleasing style.

The handsomest building, in the centre, was made the head-quarters of our army, and four entire battalions were quartered in the buildings that surrounded it, and which, indeed, from their great size and good proportions, would have afforded airy accommodation to twice that number.

The concentration of 3000 to 3500 fine troops, in a spot whose open position allowed good parade grounds to each corps, had, as may be conceived, an imposing effect, but so little impression did its pomp and circumstance make upon the lower orders of the Chinese, that upon the very first day of the occupation of the city, they were to be seen carrying in and out of the square loads of water, firewood, baggage, &c., for

the soldiers, and walking about amongst them, near their parades, with as much indifference as if they had been for years in the daily habit of mixing with disciplined troops.

The remainder of our forces were quartered chiefly in commodious private dwelling-houses, which, having usually many squares included in their range, and the whole being walled in by high brick enclosures, which have usually only two doors for ingress and exit, are well adapted for quarters, both for officers and men.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Chinese pawnbrokers—Dragoons form couches of wearing apparel—Medley costume — Destruction of furniture and books—Disposal of "pledges"—Ludicrous scenes—Spoliation by the mob—Discovery of a store of ice—Extremes of heat and cold—Apricot tree—Appropriation.

One large detachment was quartered in a pawnbroker's shop, very different in style and extent to the well-known houses designated in England by the armorial bearings of the ancient Lombards, but in all other respects resembling them so closely, as to render the comparison exceedingly amusing.

In China the business of the pawnbroker is usually carried on with the capital of a number of persons, who form together a sort of bank, or joint-stock concern, which is described by those acquainted with their operation as most lucrative and extensive in all parts of the empire.

The building consists usually of a long range

of galleries, or rooms, in which the pledged articles are ranged or assorted according to their description and value, every cloak or fur or ornament having a ticket attached to it, denoting the amount lent upon its deposit, also the period for which pledged, and the interest to be recovered.

The quantity of goods collected in these establishments, judging from those which came under the observation of the force, (and a very destructive observation it usually proved,) is enormous. Wearing apparel of all descriptions constituted the bulk of the stock of this Shanghae concern, and as it had to be cleared out of the way to make room for the soldiers, grievous havoc was of necessity made among the strange collection of odds and ends of which it consisted. Rich furred mantles and embroidered ladies' crape dresses, were heaped up to form a couch for some brawny dragoon, whose costume had been culled from heaps of pledges, the detail of which defies all power of description: a handsome blue button mandarin's cap, decorated with the honour-bestowing peacock's feathers, might be seen surmounting the bronzed visage of some hardy Briton, its abrupt redemption and new

ownership being attested by the stumpy blackened tobacco pipe stuck through an extempore hole in its rich silk cover, the hands of its new proprietor, perhaps, emerging from the folds of a delicate silk mantle, the said hands being still red from the deed they had just done, in assisting at the sudden demise of a hen, whose mortal remains were being converted into a savoury grill by means of the broken legs and ornaments of a carved satin-wood chair and some lighted paper, torn from a book, perhaps of inestimable value; and, furthermore, the said hands might be afterwards seen undergoing the detergent process upon the skirt of a robe which erst had graced the form of a high priest of Fo!

Shocking, indeed, to the antiquarian, the geographer, and the lover of science and vertu, were the destruction and spoliations entailed by these promiscuous quarterings of the troops in the towns successively occupied; for although, in cases where, as at Shang-hae, no resistance had been offered, they abstained from plunder (or *loot*, which is its popular *nom de guerre*) in such of the private dwellings as were left untouched by the quarter-master-general, the contents of the houses in which their billets had chanced to

establish them were always looked upon as the lawful property of the new incumbents, and treated accordingly, that is to say, carried off as legitimate "loot," if the means of transport were available, and if not, "used up" in all sorts of ways.

In this manner must have been destroyed many hundreds of books, which, could they have been collected and preserved until the return of peace allowed their contents to be translated and explained by native linguists, might have thrown much valuable light upon the history and present state of Chinese literature, geography, and fine arts—upon all, indeed, that is of interest, connected with this wonderful empire. Couches used to be made with the torn-up leaves of books, fires fed with them, rooms cleaned with swabs made of them—all sorts of horrors, in short, were perpetrated with these precious pages; and excepting by the very few who had no regular and urgent duties to attend to, and could always command means of transport, very few can have been preserved in an entire and available form. In most of the towns, however, which were temporarily occupied by the British, much property, valuable for its rarity as well as its intrinsic

worth, was of necessity left behind, and of course abandoned to the gangs of Chinese marauders which always hung upon our rear when the evacuation of a city was going on. At Shanghae, however, the tenants-at-will of the pawnbroker's shop hit upon an ingenious expedient for converting into specie the collection of "pledges" which, though easy of acquisition, were, like others of a different description, exceedingly difficult to be provided for. The house was not far from the ramparts, in an adjacent angle of which there stood an old guard-room, or watch-tower; this they converted into a depôt for silk cloaks and petticoats, and having soon attracted a group of Chinamen to the foot of the walls, they established a regular bazaar, lowering down their merchandise in bales for inspection and tender, and then chaffering for a good price with great skill and acumen.

The writer of these pages, when walking outside the city walls, chanced to stumble upon this droll and novel scene, and though not exactly able to admire its leading features, he could not avoid being highly diverted. The "representatives" of the pawnbrokers' association had, it

appeared, reposed too implicit a confidence in the good faith of their customers below, by lowering down the articles for sale to be examined before a bid was made, and some of these gentry had more than once most unscrupulously ended a dispute about price by decamping with the goods from under the very noses of their pseudo-owners. In consequence of this "discreditable" proceeding, it was found necessary, for the good of the "concern," to lower the bundles of cloaks, &c., only so far as to admit of an ocular examination by the Chinese, without allowing them the privilege of touching the "unredeemed:" this measure gave rise to the most absurd scenes;—one Chinaman, on his bid being refused, or on hearing a competitor offer more, would make a desperate spring at the bait, and, missing it, would stamp on the ground, and howl forth his rage like a maniac—others might be seen in little mobs, with upturned faces, like the figures in Hood's "Rocket time at Vauxhall," vehemently imploring the salesmen above to lower the prize one inch more, that they might but touch it, to ascertain how much it was worth; and when their price was refused, to see

the agonized looks with which they followed the bundle in its upward course, was irresistibly laughable.

Here, again, another group might be seen, who, having ventured, on speculation, to make a purchase from appearances only, were unfolding the garments which composed it with eager and anxious faces, clapping their hands with joy if their luck proved good, and clenching them in furious menaces against their tormentors if they found the rich silk envelope of their bundle to contain only some threadbare habiliments, or bundles of rags and rubbish. The laughter and the screaming forth of high and low Chinese, of English and Hindostani, and the absurd appearance of the descending bundles of indescribables, compensated by the ascending dollars, and indeed of the whole scene, which looked like a fishery for men, with ropes and hooks baited with silk cloaks, was much more ludicrous and amusing than can be conceived from this description, and the writer could not help enjoying a laugh when he heard that the Chinamen, unable to settle the question any more by laying violent hands upon the "pledges," had tried another and more successful manœuvre, by sending up in the bag a number of copper

SALE OF PLUNDER AT SHANG-HAE.

dollars, mixed with the silver ones. This was on the last day of the fair, when, from press of time, and the accumulation of lots to be disposed of, the venders were unable to pay proper attention to the quality of the specie returned.

In spite of this deduction, they must have realized a very comfortable little sum for men whose pay is so small; and though one could not entirely approve of thus enriching the abandoned and lawless set who generally compose the greater portion of the lower orders of inhabitants in Chinese trading cities by the spoliation of the upper classes, it is reconciled to one's mind by the reflection that all such property would have fallen into the hands of the mob the moment after our rear-guard had disappeared through the city gates, and that it was therefore better to make them pay something for it, than to let them wrangle and fight for it after our departure.

The writer was upon the rear-guard when the force was withdrawn from the city, and was forcibly struck with the proof then presented to his observation, that the miseries entailed upon the inhabitants by the actual presence of our troops in the Chinese towns, were as nothing

when compared with the horrors which ensued upon our withdrawal from them, at the hands of the miscreants who flocked into their streets in crowds from the surrounding country.

As regiment after regiment evacuated the various buildings which had been assigned as quarters, and after the rear-guard had seen them cleared of stragglers from the column, and had passed on, the streets, as you looked back, where a few minutes before all seemed desolate and deserted, were now teeming with life, and dark passages and hovels which had been passed by unnoticed were now pouring forth multitudes of outcasts, who flocked to the house which had just been abandoned, like birds of prey to a scene of slaughter.

As it is the duty of the rear-guard to bring up all baggage found lingering on the line of march, it frequently became necessary to press Chinamen, as coolies, to carry on boxes, barrels, &c., with the column; but so furious did they become at being thus balked of their prey, the already half-gutted houses, that the persuasion of a fixed bayonet was always necessary to overcome their reluctance to take service with us. As these men became tired and non-effective, we hit upon

the expedient of letting every fellow go who unearthed and put us in the way of catching two fresh ones, and by carrying on this system, our motley tail kept well up with the main column to the landing-place outside the suburbs, while the original coolies, the instant their release was ordered, asked for no money, but flying off into the city with the eagerness of hungry kites, doubtless soon paid themselves amply for their compulsatory labour by the plunder of some rich man's house, whose locality and value they well knew, and which they had marked as their prey when the flight of the mandarins and the arrival of the British troops gave them promise of such a booty.

A most welcome discovery was made in the city of a store of ice, and during the few days spent there, hardly a glass of any description of fluid was drunk without a lump of the prized stone-water being dropped into it, the luxury being enjoyed by all ranks without distinction. The ice-houses, like most others which have been met with at various places on the coast of China, were very simple in form and in principle of construction, but perfectly efficient, the rays of the sun being reflected from thick high roofs

made of thatch, having a considerable pitch, and the communication of heat to the interior, by radiation from the surrounding earth, being prevented by thick mud walls inclosing the floor, which is carefully drained and paved, upon which the ice is laid, straw, in layers, between courses of ice, being the only packing material used for its preservation.

In spite, however, of the pains which the Chinese appear to take about this luxury, and the number of ice-houses which we found in most sea-port towns, it did not appear, from all we could learn, that they make use of it for any other purpose than that of preserving fish in the summer season; and accordingly it was observed, that wherever fishing-junks were abundant, and appeared to thrive, ice-houses were numerous and well supplied, and that, on advancing farther inland by the river Yang-tse-Kiang, whose waters do not contain fish of good quality, they were no longer seen.

To us, however, the contents of the Shang-hae ice-houses were most welcome, heated as our blood was, night and day, by the fierce temperature of its close streets and dwellings, in which the thermometer at noon averaged about 96° or

97°. The houses of private individuals in this city are for the most part better adapted to exclude the keen air of the colder months and promote warmth within their walls, than to permit the entrance of a cooler breeze during the oppressive season of summer, for which the Chinese seem to depend solely on their ever-present and indispensable fans.

The extremes of heat and cold experienced in this part of the country during the year are very great, and as the Chinese have no idea of the use and comfort of a fire, but derive warmth solely from their clothing, and by the exclusion of cold air, they adopt the style of domestic architecture which is best suited to avert what they consider the greater evil of the two, and by making the principal partitions of their rooms and halls with panels which turn on pivots let into the beams at top and bottom, they are able, when the temperature demands a freer circulation of air, to remove in some degree the closeness of their apartments by taking the panels off their hinges, leaving only the framework of the partition standing.

The furniture found in the dwelling-houses of Shang-hae was exceedingly solid and good,

often elaborately carved and ornamented in a very costly manner: we remarked several round tables which had tops of beautiful slabs of marble, and couches whose backs and arms were made of a singular kind of granular quartz rock, beautifully marked with veins of green and black, which, by means curious enough, from the difficult nature of the stone, they manage to cut into plates and slabs of considerable size, and to work perfectly smooth on the outer surface. One of these, which was let into the back of a couch, measured seven feet and a half in length, and fifteen inches in breadth; it was white, variegated with veins of different hues, and presenting a most tasteful and gorgeous appearance. We had unfortunately no means of ascertaining or indeed inquiring, the original locality of this curious material, but concluded it had been brought down the Yang-tse-Kiang, from the regions of primitive rocks traversed in its course.

We were somewhat disappointed at Shanghae by the paucity of fruit-trees in the gardens both of the city and the surrounding country, especially as we had expected to find apples, pears, peaches, and most of the English orchard-trees flourishing in abundance; some there were, but

so few, and bearing marks of such care bestowed upon their culture and condition, as to indicate that they are esteemed by the Chinese as rare and curious. In the course of a ramble through a portion of the city which is occupied by the houses of the upper classes, and interspersed with gardens, we were attracted by the distant but welcome gleam of some golden-coloured fruit, which clustered thickly over a tree that appeared to us to be growing through the roof of a house: measures were taken on the instant to secure this prize, but so difficult was the approach that many a door had to be forced, and many a wall scaled, before we rested beneath the richly-loaded branches of this tree of promise. It proved to be a standard apricot, occupying the whole space of a walled enclosure, communicating with the house by double doors, and from the care which it had received must have been highly valued.

We found the dwelling-house adjoining thoroughly sacked and gutted, evidently by Chinese plunderers, nor could we recall any particular qualms of conscience when we received the thanks of the men, on returning to our quarters laden with the spoil of the only remnant to be traced of the once-flourishing property of its last

unlucky occupant. This was a very excusable sort of appropriation; but had it been less so, it is not to be doubted that the practice of the Chinese, of plundering whatever we abstained from touching, would have speedily removed all scruples.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Evacuation of Shang-hae—Mustering the troops—Division of the land force—Fleet under weigh—Pagoda Hill—Battery at Leshan—Battery Reach—Town of Chin-keang-foo—Probable consequences to the empire of the suppression of the navigation of the Yang-tse-Kiang—Golden Island—Appearance of the country—Exaggeration of travellers.

On the 23rd June, Shang-hae was evacuated, one division of the troops embarking on board the steamers in the river, while another proceeded by land with the guns to Woosung, the movement being conducted with a regularity and strict observance of discipline which reflected the highest credit on the soldiery, both European and Indian; and before dark on the same day, the whole force were re-embarked on board the transports, with the exception of a portion of the land column, who, although they had arrived at Woosung some hours before the steamers got down the river, had, from some mismanagement, no boats sent to bring them off until a late

hour, and some accidents occurred in consequence to both horses and men, not, however, of any serious amount.

In the meantime, the whole of the force destined for the campaign of the Yang-tse-Kiang had arrived at Woosung, and mustering an effective number of not less than 9000 bayonets, exclusive of marines, offered assurance of complete and brilliant fulfilment to all the expectations which had been entertained by the projectors of the war.

Of the reinforcements sent from India in the beginning of the year, two regiments only were detained for garrison duty,—viz., the 39th Madras native infantry, at Hong-Kong, and the 41st, at Chusan ; the whole of the remainder, with such recruits for her Majesty's regiments serving to the northward as had become available for active duty, proceeded on to the Yang-tse-Kiang without detention or delay ; and the army of Nanking being thus formed and brought together, under the eye of Sir Hugh Gough, the preliminary arrangements of brigading &c. were shortly put in progress.

The whole land force was divided into three brigades, of which the first, under the command

of Major-General Lord Saltoun, K.C.H., who had arrived in her Majesty's ship Belleisle, off Woosung, on the 20th, consisted of the 26th Cameronian regiment, the 98th regiment, the battalion of Bengal volunteers, and the flank companies of the 41st Madras native infantry; the second, under the command of Major-General Schoedde, C.B., of the 55th regiment, of the Madras rifles, with the 2nd and 6th regiments Madras native infantry; and the third, commanded by Major-General Bartley, of the 18th and 49th regiments, and the 14th Madras native infantry. The Royal and Madras artillery formed a separate brigade, under Colonel Montgomerie, C.B., and was composed of one troop of horse, four and a half companies of foot, and four companies of gun lascars, natives of Madras, who had been sent out with a view to relieving the Europeans of the more laborious duties connected with the movements of guns, where horses could not be employed, and who proved a most useful auxiliary to this arm of the expedition, saving all unnecessary hardship and exposure to the gunners, by dragging their pieces, carrying ammunition, mounting guard over stores where the sentry had no cover from the sun, and in a

variety of ways, which those who have served in the warmer regions of the globe will readily appreciate. The engineer department, and three companies of Madras sappers and miners, formed in like manner a distinct command, under Captain Pears, the chief engineer of the force, while to each brigade, when quitting their transports to move against the enemy, it was directed that a detachment of artillery and one of sappers, with an officer of engineers, should be attached by the respective commandants of those arms.

Some trifling alterations in the quartering of the troops, occasioned principally by the necessity for the removal of some of the men who had been sent out from England in the Belleisle, took place; and all military arrangements preparatory to an advance having thus been completed, the whole fleet looked to the flag-ship, in hourly expectation of a signal to weigh. No movement, however, took place until the 6th July, a period of thirteen days; but on the 29th June, the admiral had dispatched the Plover and Starling surveying vessels, accompanied by a steamer, up the river, to ascertain the soundings in the direction which the fleet had to pursue; and on the 30th, the admiral's ship, the Corn-

wallis, 74, was towed from under the batteries out into the stream, where she dropped her anchor until the 6th July. The fleet consisted of—

H. M. S. Cornwallis, Blonde, Calliope, North Star, Dido, Modeste, Endymion, Clio, Columbine, and Algerine—men-of-war.

H. M. S. Belleisle, Apollo, Sapphire, Jupiter, and Rattlesnake—armed troop-ships.

H. M. S. Plover and Starling—armed surveying vessels.

H. M. Vixen, and Hon. E. I. Co.'s Sesostris, Auckland, Queen, and Tenasserim—steam frigates.

Hon. E. I. Co.'s Nemesis, Phlegethon, Pluto, Proserpine, and Medusa—iron steamers.

And fully forty transports, the entire burthen of which was not less than 3000 tons.

The Cornwallis, preceded by a light vessel of war, and attended by two steamers, first got under weigh, and was followed by the fleet in divisions, having a space of a mile or two between each, the van being led by directing men-of-war appointed for that purpose, and the transports proceeding in their wake, according to the respective positions assigned to them in the admiral's sailing orders.

The wind was fair and the weather fine and clear, so that nothing interfered to mar the brilliant effect of this striking spectacle. Proceeding according to the directions of Captain Bethune, and guided by his excellent chart, the admiral led on in safety as far as Harvey Point, distant about twenty-five miles from Woosung, but there, steering too close to a bank which has been formed to the southward, by deposits from the waters of the river, the Cornwallis took the ground, and the like mishap was shortly afterwards incurred by the Belleisle; both vessels were, however, lifted off during the night by the flood tide, when they anchored in deep water until the following day.

On the 8th, the fleet pushed on nearly as far as the soundings were marked in Bethune's Chart, anchoring abreast of a village where a wretched battery, or rather a mock one, for no guns were found in it, having "Pagoda Hill" (one of a remarkable range about eight miles inland, composed of three conical peaks) on the north side of the river, bearing north by east. The next morning a strong party of seamen and marines were sent on shore, who took possession of the deserted battery, and after some little

delay at this place, during which a steamer was dispatched to explore the passage beyond the anchorage taken up on the 8th, the fleet again set sail, and from this point were led on with boldness and decision: our progress consequently became rapid, until at a distance of about seventy miles from Woosung, when the tide losing all effect upon the stream, we had to contend for the remainder of the voyage with a current running with variable but always great velocity. But the breeze continued strong and favourable, and on the 15th and 16th the whole fleet was collected at an anchorage abreast of a six-gun battery, which, having fired upon the advancing vessels, the marines of the Cornwallis got through the embrasures in the course of a very few minutes after the first shot, but not a Chinaman was found anywhere, and after burning some guard-houses, and a small range of barracks on a hill called Leshan, which rises to a considerable height behind the battery, they returned to the ship.

The site of this battery had been selected with a great deal of skill and judgment, for it was placed so as to command the whole of a reach

included between two very sharp bends made by the river at the foot of the hill; and a few 24-pounders, manned by ordinarily good gunners, would have done much mischief to the fleet before they could have been driven from their post; and as all the divisions came crowding on and anchored close together, in consequence of this sudden detainer, much havoc would have been made among the troops by half-a-dozen salvos. During the two succeeding days, the wind was unfavourable for rounding the point which lay opposite the hill, at the further end of "Battery Reach;" and several vessels, which tried to beat up against it, were drifted back by the current, which in this part of the river ran with a velocity of five to seven knots. A steamer, however, which had been sent on to explore, returning with a report that the town of Chin-keang was only twenty miles a-head, and that on approaching it a battery had opened on her, the whole of the men-of-war were towed round the point, (except the Endymion, which, not being in tow, took the ground a few miles a-head,) and stood away up the river, the transports following under the direction of the commander of the Apollo troop ship.

On the 19th, the wind having veered to a favourable quarter, the transports rounded the point without any accident of consequence; and after a passage of four to five hours, anchored in safety abreast of the town of Chin-keang-foo, the point at which, as we had learned before we left Woosung, the first blow of the campaign was to be struck. At a more vital part of the empire the impending home-thrust could not have been made; for so important a position does the town occupy with regard to the great high road for the main traffic and supply of the upper provinces—the grand canal, whose waters wash the foot of the walls on two of its faces—that, in possession of its fortifications, and with sufficient means to blockade the mouth of the opposite or northern branch of the canal, and thus prevent communication between the banks of the Yang-tse-Kiang, the plenipotentiary, with the grip of his formidable force upon the very lungs of the Chinese government, would have the celestial monarch and the future fortunes of his dynasty as completely at his mercy, as if a British brigade had been quartered in the imperial palace at Peking; in all probability far more so, for it was to be expected that, on the ap-

proach of a victorious British force to Peking, the emperor would have quitted the city, and established his court, not at his palace in Tartary, beyond the great wall, as was surmised by many, but in the western province of Shansy, whose mountainous and impracticable character would have bid defiance to the efforts of an European force to cut off its communication with the south, and from which imperial edicts would have issued in the usual manner, and would have been as implicitly obeyed throughout the provinces, as if dated from Peking. The war might thus have been protracted indefinitely, or have resulted in that dismemberment of the empire, and general anarchy and confusion throughout its vast population, which it was so eminently the desire and policy of the British government to prevent.

But the seizure of the chief gates, as it were, of the grand canal, and the occupation and entire suppression of the navigation of the Yang-tse-Kiang, could not fail to have the effect of severing the empire into two distinct parts, a result which the Chinese must have foreseen would so completely and permanently suspend the vital functions of their government, as to place it be-

yond the reach of resuscitation, when the "pressure from without" might be removed.

Under this impression, great expectations were entertained that the Chinese general of the province, fully aware of the importance of preventing Chin-keang-foo from falling into our hands, would have offered the most desperate resistance. These anticipations, however, were disappointed; the seventy-four and the rest of the squadron rode quietly at anchor in the middle of the stream, and the whole fleet was suffered to pass within short range of the city ramparts, without the slightest notice being taken of them.

The place at that time appeared to have been entirely deserted; not a living creature was to be seen on the walls or buildings; no flags were flying, in the usual Chinese style of defiance; no guns were seen pointed through the embrasures; no smoke rising from the houses; in short, no trace or evidence whatsoever of life could be perceived from the anchorage abreast of the town; and the universal impression was, that the Chinese, unprepared for so terrible a demonstration, and overawed by the imposing appearance of the

fleet which darkened the stream of their noble river, had abandoned all idea of defence, and resolved on reserving all their means for a grand stand under the walls of Nanking. The appearance of this portion of the Yang-tse-Kiang, which includes in the landscape the two most important termini of the grand canal, the towns of Chin-keang-foo and Kwang-chow, on either bank of the river, and the celebrated and sacred Golden Island in the centre of its stream, although undoubtedly striking and highly picturesque, fell very far short of the expectations which the perusal of works by recent writers on China had naturally led us to form.

The country here begins to undulate considerably, and towards the south and west swells into ranges of hills of some extent and well wooded, forming extensive valleys, whose clothing of the richest verdure is most refreshing to the eye, while the majestic river, flowing through a channel which carries seventeen to twenty-five fathoms throughout its breadth, with a velocity of six to seven miles an hour, presents alone a feature of such imposing grandeur that the spectator must be dull indeed who could fail to recognise in the *coup d'œil* a beauty and an interest of the highest

CHIN-KEANG-FOO, AND GOLDEN ISLAND.

order. But it was in the appearance of the banks of the canal and of the buildings which lined and adjoined them, that disappointment was felt.

In place of extensive and properly constructed wharfs and landing-places, and of store-houses and shops of a size and capacity commensurate with the extent of the traffic of which Chin-keang-foo has been described as the entrepôt, the suburb which extends along the western bank of the canal, (the ramparts of the city forming the opposite one,) although of considerable extent, scarcely contains a single building besides those of government, and two or three houses erected by the Jesuits more than a century ago, and closely resembling English mills or cotton factories, which may be compared in size to an ordinary English two-storied house, while their landing-places and wharfs are so few in number, and of such rude construction and in such dilapidated condition, that we were at a loss to conceive from what fountain of the marvellous those travellers' wonders regarding the vast amount of traffic centering in Chin-keang-foo were drawn.

It is true this impression may have been greatly aided by the unfavourable circumstances under which our inspection of the city was made, the houses being at the time all closed, the streets deserted, and the greater number of the boats withdrawn from the canal and river to a place of refuge inland; and our judgment may have been biassed by the recollection of the bustle and activity of Canton, and of the splendour and extent of its packing-houses, its hongs, and many storied buildings, its timber-yards and rope-walks, its commodious wharfs, and innumerable creeks and landing-places, and above all, of the scene of perpetual life and motion which the waters of its fine river ever present, crowded by myriads of boats and junks of all forms and sizes, which alone must give shelter to a population nearly equal in number to the inhabitants of the trading suburb of Chinkeang-foo.

But making every allowance for these influencing causes, the tendency to exaggeration which has been detected (through observations made in the earlier period of the war) in many modern works descriptive of the resources,

population, and statistical economy of the Chinese empire, was strikingly exemplified when the plain and unvarnished original before us at Chin-keang was compared with the brilliant and highly coloured picture presented in their pages.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Relative situation of the contending forces—Neglect of the Chinese government—Expected descent upon Peking—Defence of Teentsin—Fire-rafts—Disembarkation of the land force effected—Beautiful prospect from the heights of Chin-keang-foo—Silver Island—Two Chinese camps—Orders given for an attack.

Before entering upon the narrative of events which exercised so important an influence upon the sentiments and views of the court of Peking, and occupy so prominent a place in the history of the war, let us briefly review the relative situation of the two contending forces.

The British combined armament, assembled on the 20th July in the river Yang-tse-Kiang, before Chin-keang-foo, consisted of not fewer than 12,000 fighting men, of whom upwards of 9000 (marines included) were troops in the highest state of discipline and efficiency, armed for the most part with percussion muskets, and supplied with an artillery and materiel perfect in all

its departments. The naval brigade, in co-operation with the troops, consisted of fifteen vessels of war, five steam frigates, and five light-draught iron steamers, on board of which were nearly 3000 seamen, two-thirds of whom were, when required, available for employment on shore.

On the other hand, the imperial troops had in their favour every advantage which in warfare upon a great scale must result from the choice of positions and points of defence, the proximity of magazines and reserves, and, above all, from all the animus which is inspired by the circumstances of a contest carried on upon their native soil. From the long period of inaction passed by our force at Ningpo, from the cessation on our part of all attempts to break up their military establishments and harass their defensive posts, and from the experience which the two preceding years of warfare had given to their generals, it was to be anticipated that the imperial government, so soon as the movements of the British fleet revealed the real nature of the designs of our leaders, would have put forth all those energies and vast resources, the possession of which has been ascribed to the empire by so many

writers, in order to resist or avert the impending crisis. So little, however, did the government appear to have expected our attack at the valuable point chosen, and so entirely pre-occupied must it have been with efforts to resist an expected attempt upon the capital, that the defence of the Yang-tse-Kiang was entirely neglected until too late to allow of such steps being taken as might have given them some prospect of a successful resistance to our advance, or have so materially retarded it as to have very considerably circumscribed the extent of our aggressive operations during 1842.

Had the Chinese government really possessed the extensive resources imputed to them, we should surely have found, during the period which elapsed since the entrance of the British fleet into the southern embouchure of the Yang-tse-Kiang, (which removed all doubt as to its destination before our arrival off Chin-keang-foo,) efforts would have been made to resist us upon a scale vastly superior even to those exerted at many points on the coast, where the enemy had been prepared for some time to receive our attack; and considering the admirable means of transport for guns, stores, and troops, from their

arsenals and depôts, both in the north and the south, which they had here at command in the two branches of the grand canal, it may be taken as a proof of the exceeding weakness and deficiency under which the government laboured, and of the insignificance of their military resources, that during a period of forty days only two paltry and unsupported batteries had been erected between Woosung and Chin-keang-foo, on banks which afforded many admirable positions, where powerful lines of guns might have been brought to play at great advantage upon our crowded fleet, and which might have been maintained long enough to have interfered materially with the rapidity of our advance, by rendering the disembarkation of troops frequently necessary to storm the enemy's works.

Information received in the early part of the year, from missionaries, showed that the Chinese considered a descent upon Peking by the Peiho river so inevitable, that since the capture of Ningpo all the energies of the government had been devoted to the construction of obstacles of all descriptions in the expected line of our advance, and more especially to convert Teentsin, which may be called the port of Peking, into a

defensive post of the first order. Letters received at the time adverted to, from a town on the Tartar frontier, near the Jehol gate of the great wall, stated that prodigious numbers of newly cast iron guns of all calibres were daily pouring into the province of Petcheelee, from the numerous villages in the Tartar country where iron is manufactured, and taking the road to Teentsin, where, according to the description given by the camel-drivers and coolies who returned by the same route, the most formidable ranges of batteries and intrenchments were being thrown up, and guns coming in from all parts, so that the roads were encumbered by them.

This lavish display of confidence in the prowess of their troops, and the adequacy of their means for the defence of Teentsin, and for the repulse of the "barbarian army," was in all probability prompted as much by a desire on the part of their government to sustain the confidence of the inhabitants of Peking in the ability and resolution of their rulers, as by a hope of success in the shock of arms with the invaders; and it seems strange that the imperial court, so wily and astute as they had generally shown themselves, should have so entirely overlooked the naked-

ness which they were thus exposing in the central provinces, by draining them of all their munitions and machines of war, when the close proximity of our fleet and army to the mouth of the Yang-tse-Kiang ought to have kept their suspicions constantly alive.

After anchoring off Golden Island on the 20th, the first symptom we perceived of anything like a disposition to resort to hostilities was the appearance of a large raft of wood in flames floating down the stream in the direction of the fleet: boats from the men-of-war were soon in pursuit, and the raft, after some trouble, was towed clear of the anchorage, and suffered to continue its course; this was succeeded by another; and shortly afterwards two at once were slipped, but the attempt was a very poor one, as they were not chained together to enable them to get across a ship's cable, as was done with those in the Canton river, so that not an accident of any kind was caused by them.

In the meantime a reconnoissance was made by the general from some hills which overlooked the city, and from whose summit a view was commanded of the surrounding country over a distance of several miles: perfect stillness pre-

vailed throughout the town, no guards were seen patrolling the ramparts, no troops collecting in the open spaces, no people walking in the streets : all seemed deserted and abandoned ; and as in the distance, on a low range of hills to the south, two considerable intrenched camps were distinguished, it was concluded that the garrison, mistrusting the city as a place of defence, had preferred taking up a position in the open country in which to give us battle, whence, if the day went against them, their flight would be comparatively easy.

There was something ominous, however, in this silence, which still left a doubt upon the minds of the reconnoitring party as to the fact of the total evacuation of the city by the enemy, and though the impression received by the commander-in-chief was, that there would be no resistance to our occupation, his excellency's measures were concerted upon a plan which showed that this doubt had influenced him among the rest. No Chinese, even of the lowest orders, were to be seen lurking about near the mouth of the canal, or in any of the buildings in the vicinity of the spot chosen for the reconnoissance, so that the interpreters were unable to

throw any light upon the mystery, and the general orders of Sir Hugh Gough, directing the whole of the land force to be disembarked at daybreak on the 21st July, were issued in total uncertainty whether the city was bare of defenders, or whether a stout resistance awaited his columns.

Major-General Schoedde's brigade was directed to land under cover of some steep hills to the left of the town, and take post within gun-shot range of the walls, making a feint to attack them if any troops appeared on them, and engaging their attention to that quarter as much as possible, so as to create a diversion in favour of Major-General Bartley's column, which was ordered to land to the right of the town, and to act as circumstances might demand. The brigade of Lord Saltoun, which was destined for the attack of the intrenched camps, was also directed to land to the right, opposite Golden Island, and await farther orders near the place of disembarkation. From some cause or other, however, our landing on the morning of the 21st was a very irregular operation, many detachments getting on shore in the middle of the night, and two or three whole battalions never

reaching the shore at all until the business of the day was too far advanced to allow of their services being made useful. One body of men, having been put into the boats of their transport long before daybreak, and finding no boat to direct them to the landing-place, pulled to the flag-ship for information, which was conveyed in a mandate to the officer of the transport, directing him to return instantly to his ship to await the admiral's orders, for acting without which he was informed that the offending transport would be one of the first dismissed.

The disembarkation, however, of the greater part of the troops was effected by seven A. M., without loss or accident, the Chinese general omitting to take advantage of the powerful means to oppose our landing which were at his disposal, and which, owing to the difficult nature of the ground upon which the disembarkation, especially of the first and third brigades, took place, might, had they been properly employed, have inflicted severe loss on our force.

The landing-place to the west of the town, though decidedly the best which could, under the circumstances, have been selected, was commanded by a number of houses, sheds, and other

buildings, scattered over the base of a steep hill which skirted it on the left, from which, and from a number of piles of timber and other goods near the water's edge, a destructive fire could have been maintained upon the boats and upon our troops, as they formed in the circumscribed space near the bank, our reply to which would have been made under every disadvantage and difficulty, while to the enemy, when eventually driven from their posts, a tolerably safe line of retreat lay open through circuitous streets and lanes, where our ignorance of the localities must have prevented a very close or destructive pursuit.

As soon as the greater part of the first brigade had effected their disembarkation, and were drawn up at some distance from the timber-yard at which it had taken place, Sir Hugh Gough, accompanied by his staff, ascended the heights overlooking the city on the west side, for the purpose of making a closer reconnoissance, in order to decide upon the final orders to the generals of brigade regarding the operations of the day. The same unbroken silence still reigned through the vast city which lay outspread beneath them, and although a good many tents were now

observed on various parts of the walls, no evidence was discovered that tended to remove their impression that the capture of the celebrated key of the grand canal would after all be a bloodless affair, and that, save in the attack of the intrenched position which the Chinese troops had taken up five or six miles outside the city, no loss of life or expenditure of ammunition would take place during the day.

The coup-d'œil from the heights commanded as striking and interesting a panorama as it has perhaps ever fallen to the lot of wanderers in strange lands to gaze upon, abounding in all that constitutes the picturesque in a lovely landscape, and presenting features of surpassing interest, both from their novelty and from the historical and statistical importance attached to them. Here for the first time we looked down upon the grand canal, and were able to note the countless off-shoots of that extraordinary and admirable channel of communication, with whose name we had so long been accustomed to associate ideas of all that is enterprising and magnificent, and which is as indispensable to the welfare and integrity of the vast empire whose most remote districts it connects, as is the spine to the human

body. Beside us rolled the magnificent river whose turbid waters bore along in silence the vast mass of matter, the abraded ruins of the old world, which were to form the foundations of future continents and regions, sweeping onwards majestically through a country so rich and densely clothed with verdure, that, as it lay outspread before us like a map, the eye was unable to embrace all its beauties, so dazzling and brilliant did it appear.

In the middle of the stream, about midway between the two embouchures of the river, we saw the picturesque rock covered with buildings, whose roofs of glazed tiles, of a bright yellow colour, combined probably with the former wealth of its temples, gained for it the name of the Golden Isle ; a mass of picturesque and ancient buildings crowned by a tall and elegant minaret or pagoda, which made it a very striking object in the view before us. Another island, much of the same description, situated a mile to the eastward of the town, and which appears to have been separated from the southern bank of the river by the wearing away of a passage for its water through the rocky channel, of which it formed probably the extremity, is also beautifully wooded, and

adorned by many handsome and curious temples; but the term of Silver Island, which is applied to it by the Chinese, denotes their inferiority, both in value and sanctity, to those of the sister island. On the northern side of the Yang-tse-Kiang, the country is for the most part flat, the hills on its surface being few and isolated, but towards the south its aspect becomes considerably changed, the ground undulating and swelling into ranges of richly-cultivated or wooded hills, which rise to a great height at the distance of a few miles and terminate in a mountainous group, which bounds the view. Upon a gently-sloping and low spur of one of these were situated the two Chinese camps already noticed, contributing much by their picturesque effect to enhance the beauty and interest of the scene: the dazzling white tents were still standing, and the troops could be discerned walking about within their intrenchments, in a style of *insouciance* which seemed to betoken ignorance of or indifference to the close proximity of their formidable foe; and as nothing was observed which denoted a diminution of their numbers since the previous day, or preparations for a retreat, it was resolved by Sir Hugh Gough that no time should be lost

in attacking them. Orders were accordingly sent to Lord Saltoun's brigade, directing them to advance upon the Chinese position, while that of Major-General Bartley was moved across the heights, and advanced in the direction of the city walls, throwing its right forwards so as to be in readiness to co-operate with the first brigade, should circumstances render it necessary, and to prevent the enemy, when driven from their camp, from effecting a retreat in the direction of the town. The brigades commenced their respective movements at about eight o'clock, and as the morning sun shone down upon their long and glittering columns, their colours gaily floating in the breeze, and their battalions equipped and accoutred with all the smartness of a Hyde Park field-day, it was impossible to suppress a feeling of admiration and excitement at the interesting scene of which they formed so brilliant a feature.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Operations carried on against Chin-keang-foo—Advance of a brigade under Lord Saltoun—The enemy in sight—Engagement commenced — Rapid flight of the Chinese — Movements of the second and third brigades—Firing on the city—An escalade—Desperate conflict with the Tartar troops—Their abandonment of the works of the town.

The operations carried on by the three brigades on the 21st July were so various, and so entirely independent of each other, that they claim a separate description. To that which took the field under Lord Saltoun, it was the general belief that the greatest share of the glories of the day would fall, it being supposed that the main body, if not the whole of the garrison, had quitted the city, from distrust of its shelter, and, as at Tsekee, had taken up the intrenched position as one which they were better able to defend, and from which they could more easily escape should the day turn against the imperial standard; and the

battalions which composed this brigade, being impressed with that idea, started upon their march in the highest spirits.

Before the brigade got clear of the remainder of the force, and the head of the column had emerged from the mass of suburban buildings which lay at the foot of the heights, the sun, from whose early rays they had been sheltered during the morning, had attained sufficient elevation to render his beams fierce and distressing, and by the time the whole body had advanced into the open country, they had acquired an intensity which was not to be borne by any brains but such as were "native and to the manner born."

The column, however, passed on, and after a march of three or four miles, came in sight of the object of their endeavours, in whose appearance a great change had taken place since the time of the reconnoissance on the heights. The whole of the enemy's tents had been struck, and in place of the two distinct encampments, the Chinese were now observed to have united their forces into one dense body, which appeared drawn up behind an intrenchment on a gently

sloping hill, with colours flying, and corps ranged according to their dress, as if prepared for immediate action.

As our troops advanced by the rough and uneven line of march which led towards the camp, now diving deep into a valley and crossing low fields and gardens, now ascending swelling ridges of ground, which brought the column well into view, the Chinese troops, probably well aware of the range of their artillery, took no notice of our approach, until the advance, consisting of the light company of the 98th regiment and a small party of Madras sappers, gained the summit of a gently swelling ridge, forming one boundary of the low valley which separated them from the Chinese position, and on which they were well exposed.

As soon as the enemy perceived that they had got this advance-party fairly under their aim, they raised their usual wild yell, and opened a smart fire of round shot and grape from right to left of their line, while at the same time, as if the signal had been concerted, a considerable body of troops appeared upon the brow of a range of hills upon our right, and descending for a short distance towards our line, appeared

POSITION OF THE CHINESE FORCES NEAR CHIN-KEANG-FOO.

to threaten an attack upon our flank, as soon as the advance of our columns should give them a favourable opportunity for acting.

The engagement thus commenced, Lord Saltoun's dispositions were well and ably made. Forming the brigade into two columns, of which one was directed to move by the right, to turn the left of the enemy's position, and the other to press upon their right, so as to cut off their retreat, he instructed Major Anstruther, who had opportunely come up with some light field-pieces, to move his guns to the front, and open upon the Chinese intrenchments, while at the same time he directed two companies of the Bengal volunteer regiment to take post in some dwelling-houses and gardens, which formed a strong position, for the purpose of keeping in check the division of the enemy's troops which menaced us on the ridge to our right.

These operations were promptly executed; and while the attention of the enemy was diverted by the sharp fire kept up on their position by our guns, the 98th, sappers, and 41st Madras native infantry, on the right, and the volunteer regiment on the left, were pressing forward to close.

But the formidable array of their assailants at this juncture was more than the imperial troops could behold undaunted, and long before our men could gain the crest of the hill on which they had stood, their line wavered, and after giving us an irregular and ill-sustained discharge from their matchlocks and ginjalls, the whole gave way, and flying over the hill, appeared to melt away from the earth, so rapidly did they disappear from our view; and although the light company of the 98th, and the sappers, were upon their trail without loss of time, but few were overtaken and slain. The intrenched camp was found almost entirely stripped, most of the tents, standards, and military stores, having been in all probability carried off during our advance, and some arms and ammunition, tents and camp furniture, were the only trophies of the day.

Simultaneously with the flight of the troops in the camp, the division which had threatened us from the hills in our rear broke up and retreated, without attempting the diversion which had been anticipated; and thus was a force of regular troops, apparently well equipped and armed, and led by several mandarins, who were

observed on horseback directing and encouraging their men, broken up and entirely dispersed by a skilful combination of movements and a display of force, the success of which would have left nothing to be desired, had the short time allowed for their development permitted a disposition by which the retreat of the enemy could have been effectually cut off, and their defeat rendered more severe in its results.

Some light troops having been thrown out to occupy a commanding hill in advance, the remainder of the brigade was formed in columns of battalions on some high ground, near the place recently evacuated by the enemy, and piled arms, while the farther orders of the commander-in-chief as to the movements of this portion of the force were awaited; but so fearful was the intensity of the sun's rays, which poured down on the heads of the unfortunate soldiery, the European portion of whom had never been before so exposed to their effect in a tropical region, that after several men had dropped dead in the ranks from *coups de soleil*, and many more had been taken to the rear, prostrated from the same cause, it became necessary to place them under cover, and an adjacent village was accordingly

taken possession of, and its houses converted into the best description of quarters which they could be made to afford. Thirteen men of the 98th regiment, however, expired before evening from the effects of fatigue and exposure to the sun.

From the 2nd and 3rd brigades in the direction of the town of Chin-keang-foo, and from the shipping in the river, the report of occasional heavy firing had been heard for some time by the 1st brigade. The 2nd brigade, under the command of Major-General Schoedde, landed at daybreak to the east of the city, and taking up the best position which the features of the ground afforded, created as serious a diversion in favour of the attack of the 3rd brigade on the west as was practicable. In order, however, to be prepared to convert their feint into a real attack, should circumstances require it, scaling-ladders were put on shore with the brigade, as also a supply of eighteen and thirty-two pounder rockets, in addition to the field-pieces attached to it, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Knowles, of the Royal artillery. Here, as on the west side, no opposition was made to the landing, although the boats which conveyed the troops

on shore had to pass within range of the guns on the ramparts; and General Schoedde was suffered to occupy a commanding slope within 300 yards of the walls, and to crown it with his troops, without opposition.

This indifference or oversight, however, was soon seen to have been caused by the engrossing claims which the formidable body of troops collecting near the landing-place of the 1st and 3rd brigades, made upon the attention of the garrison, who, until the 55th regiment had occupied the eastern heights in force, and the artillery and rocket-tubes had been planted upon their summits, appear to have had no distinct apprehension of the approach of danger in that quarter. They now commenced a smart fire of round and grape upon the hill held by the 55th regiment, and upon the plain across which the 6th and 2nd Madras regiments were moving, as division after division gained the shore to form under its cover, and some men were shot down in the ranks before shelter was obtained. The Auckland steam-frigate, which had been employed in the debarkation of the brigade, and had anchored abreast of the ramparts, close to the heights, upon observing this first demon-

stration of hostility, opened a well-directed fire from her 68-pounders, with 10-inch shells, against the parapet, while the Royal artillery threw rockets with considerable effect over the ramparts amongst the enemy, who were now collecting on the point threatened by General Schoedde, in considerable numbers, bringing wall-pieces from other parts of the works, and at one point actually breaking down the parapet to form an extempore embrasure for a gun, which was planted in it and opened upon our people in a cool yet prompt manner, worthy of troops better versed in the art and more experienced in the practice of war.

From the hill on which General Schoedde had taken his stand a very extensive view of the country on the south and east sides of the city was commanded, reaching indeed as far as the hills on which the Chinese had formed their intrenched camps, so that the whole of the movements of Lord Saltoun's brigade were distinctly visible, as well as those of the retreating enemy. About the time of Lord Saltoun's successful attack, heavy firing was heard in the direction of the head of the grand canal, announcing that the 3rd brigade, with which was the commander-in-

chief in person, had found the enemy prepared for resistance on the western face of the town, and that their attack had already commenced on that point.

Perceiving the importance of gaining possession of the ramparts and gateways on the east side, in order to cut off the retreat of the troops who might be driven through the town by the columns of the 3rd brigade, after their entrance had been effected, and also desiring to divert the attention of the garrison from what he considered the main attack, on the opposite side, General Schoedde adopted the resolution of carrying the place by escalade, a mode of attack for which the localities and peculiar features of the eastern portion of the defences of the town were especially favourable, the walls being sufficiently low to allow of the ladders reaching the top of the parapet, while a hollow way, in which the road ran, thirty or forty yards from the foot of the ramparts, and the broken and steep nature of the ground immediately beneath them, gave good shelter to the advance of the storming column, and to the light troops thrown out to cover it and keep down the fire of the enemy while the ladders were being brought up and planted.

The grenadiers of her Majesty's 55th regiment, under Captain Macleane, were accordingly told off as a storming party, to precede the main column of attack, the Madras rifles, under Captain Simpson, being directed to extend among the unequal ridges of ground under the walls, to pick off any of the enemy who might show themselves at the embrasures, while the ladders were being placed against the face of a square bastion, which had no other flanking fire than that from a small work projecting from the main rampart, for which reason it had been selected as the place of escalade.

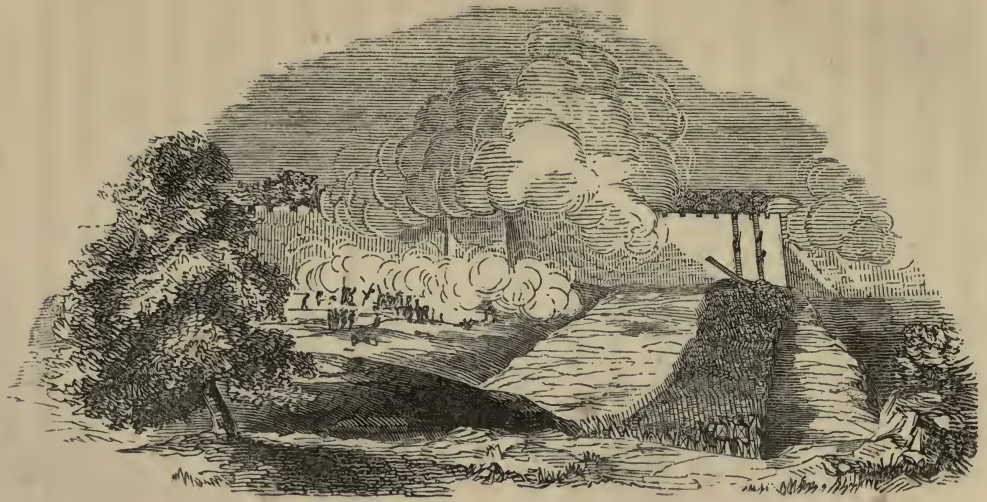
Bringing on his riflemen in excellent style, until within pistol-shot of the walls, Captain Simpson judiciously extended them in an irregular line so far along the face threatened, and maintained so brisk a fire upon the parapets, that the attention of the enemy was effectually distracted from the point near the angle at which it had been decided that the ladders should be reared; and although the party of sappers and miners who carried them had to cross an open space, exposed to the full fire of a face and flank of the works, before the foot of

the walls could be gained, not a single casualty occurred in their ranks.

So steady and well-directed, however, was the fire of the enemy's matchlock-men, who were now, from their dress and appearance, recognised to be Tartars, that on Captain Simpson being struck down by one of their balls, which took effect upon his head, upon its being exposed above the cover which protected the riflemen, a havildar, (a sergeant of native Indian troops,) who attempted to remove him to the rear, had a shot sent through his cap the instant it became visible from the loopholes of the enemy's parapets. Even after the ramparts had been gained, so completely was their attention engrossed by the covering party of our assaulting column, that scarcely a shot was fired at the leading files until a considerable number had ascended the ladders and formed upon the terre-pleine, which was for some distance along the faces of the bastion very narrow, being bounded by a rear wall of brick, running parallel to the parapet, at a distance of from twelve to sixteen feet, and having low walls at intervals, intersecting it at right angles, in the form of traverses. One of these was situated so

close to the spot where the ladders rested against the escarp, that although the fire maintained from the parapets, along the greater part of the left face of the bastion, showed pretty distinctly that a formidable foe had to be encountered there, Lieutenants Cuddy, 55th, and Johnston, engineers, who were the two first to set foot on the enemy's walls, could not, on first leaping from the ladders, descry an opponent; and some minutes elapsed before the flashes of half-a-dozen matchlocks, over the nearest traversing wall, informed them of their proximity.

The Tartars appear, indeed, to have been utterly unprepared for the mode of attack adopted; and, either through ignorance of their use, or the eagerness with which raw troops devote their attention to their nearest assailants, suffered the ladders to be carried to the foot of the walls and planted, without detaching a man to watch the movements of the sappers who carried them, and who, under the direction of Lieutenant Johnston, performed their duty in so skilful and resolute a manner, that the grenadiers of the 55th regiment were already swarming up the walls, before the means by which they reached



ESCALADE OF CHIN-KEANG-FOO.

their summit had been discovered by the defenders.

The slight panic, however, which the surprise of such a movement had caused amongst the Tartars in the bastion, did not endure long. Bodies of troops came along the ramparts towards the point of danger, and forming in masses on the terre-pleine, and spreading themselves among the houses and gardens below, they maintained so severe a fire upon the assaulting column, which now, divided into two, strove to win its way along either face of the work which it had so successfully entered, that the men began to fall fast, and their advance received at almost every step a severe check, especially upon the left, where Captain Reid, of the 6th regiment native infantry, who commanded after the death of his colonel, (Drever,) who fell under the effect of a *coup-de-soleil*, after ascending the walls, was not able, until after a desperate struggle and considerable delay, to bring his column round the re-entering angle, where, from the inner wall of the rampart being discontinued, its head, as it emerged from shelter, became exposed to a fire from an extended range of

positions taken up by the enemy's matchlock-men, and had to fight its way, almost inch by inch, to the nearest gateway, which General Schoedde had opened for the admittance of the 2nd regiment of native infantry, who had been detached from the main column with some rockets, to menace it, and divert the attention of the enemy while the principal attack was going on.

Undismayed, however, by the formidable appearance of their assailants, whose column (consisting of the 6th regiment, some men of the 55th regiment, and the rifles, who had mounted the ladders when their duty as coverers had been achieved) now extended along their ramparts in imposing array, and unshaken by the fire from the artillery and infantry upon the gateway, the Tartar troops for a considerable time clung gallantly to the guard-house which occupied the space above it, and to the parapets of the bastion which covered the approach, inflicting some loss upon their opponents, and defending the wickets which led into the work in the most resolute manner, under a storm of balls which was poured upon them.

A gate leading from a ramp in the inner gate-

way having been at length forced, Captain Reid charged through it at the head of a party of his men, and bayoneted the soldiers who were still attempting a vain resistance. The gates were then thrown open, and the 2nd regiment of native infantry entering, united themselves with the 6th, and the column pursued its way along the ramparts towards the west gate, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Luard, of the former corps.

In the meantime, the advance of the right column, although obstinately contested by the Tartar troops, was gradually made good along the left face of the bastion, on the inner side of whose rampart the low masonry wall already mentioned was found to run, until it became united to the main line of the city wall, narrowing the level space on the summit of the rampart so much as to ensure deadly effect amongst the crowded masses of the enemy from the fire of our front ranks. The Tartars, however, although suffering so severely, continued their resistance in the most cool and determined manner, now halting to give effect to their matchlock fire, and now retreating slowly and in good order, as our troops pressed upon them.

They continued thus falling back until they arrived at a re-entering angle of the works, where a small two-storied guard-house offered a strong and favourable point of defence, the advance to it being swept as well by the fire of the curtain, which here joined the bastion, as by that from the doors and windows of the building. At this point they turned fiercely upon their assailants, and being reinforced by some detachments which came along the ramparts from the westward to succour them, they made a desperate, and for some time a successful stand, pouring upon the head of the column of the 55th a fire which soon made fearful gaps in their close and crowded array.

Some companies of the 55th, however, opportunely coming up, accompanied by Major Warren, the word was given for the charge, and the grenadiers, under their veteran captain, advancing at a run, the guard-house was entered and carried at the point of the bayonet, the Tartars retreating through the opposite door to the curtain, leaving many of their number on the blood-stained floor of the contested building. But no sooner did the head of the column, led by Major Warren, emerge from the inner gate, and endea-

vour to push forward round the angle of the curtain, than the courage of the enemy appeared to revive, and without waiting for the shock of their assailants, they charged desperately down upon the handful of men who had passed in single file through the guard-house, and hewing down several with their heavy straight swords, bore the remainder back through the door before a proper front could be opposed to their determined advance, or the fire of the column, owing to the contracted space at the angle of the curtain, could be made to tell upon their swordsmen.

At this critical juncture, the cartridge-box of a soldier who had fallen inside the guard-house, having taken fire from the burning match of a Tartar who lay near it, exploded with a loud report, and the cause not having been at once perceived, owing to the dense cloud of smoke which hung over the scene of blood, a cry was raised of "a mine!" and some confusion ensuing, the guard-house was for a short time abandoned. In this rude encounter, several savage hand-to-hand conflicts took place; and Major Warren, already distinguished in the wars of Southern India, maintained his reputation as a swordsman, by vanquishing in single fight

two powerful Tartars who assailed him, killing one of them on the spot, and disabling the other. This gallant officer shortly afterwards received a severe wound from a matchlock ball, near the guard-house, and the command of the regiment for the remainder of the day devolved upon Major Fawcett.

The check experienced by the right column at this fiercely contested point was not of long duration ; the fire of musketry, which had been opened along its flank upon the embrasures in the curtain through which the enemy annoyed our troops with their formidable ginjalls and matchlocks, was soon directed to cease, and Capt. Macleane's grenadiers once more charged into the guard-house, and deluged it with the blood of its brave defenders, the survivors of whom now gave up the post, and retreated along the curtain towards the nearest salient angle, where a considerable body of the enemy were collecting, dragging with them wall pieces taken from the embrasures, which they planted on the ramparts, and pointed down the path by which the advance of our column had to be made.

Here, again, the most determined stand was made by the Tartars, and so narrow was the

THE GUARD-HOUSE ON THE WALLS OF CHIN-KEANG-FOO.

space on which troops could be formed to show a front to the enemy, that the musketry fire kept up by our leading files made but an ineffectual return to the bagfuls of balls with which the enemy's ginjalls were charged, while for the same reason it was a matter of great difficulty to attack their position with the bayonet: this last resource was, however, of necessity adopted, for although many of the Tartars were shot down by our musketry, the impression made upon them was for a long time but trifling, while on our side many were falling, both under the effect of the enemy's shot, and under the overpowering influence of the sun, which shone over the devoted town of Chin-keang on the day of the assault with a burning intensity seldom experienced even in the torrid latitudes to which the majority of its invaders had been so long accustomed.

Driven at last with great slaughter from the ground they had so gallantly maintained, the Tartar troops, either owing to the loss of their leaders, or, as after-circumstances led us to believe, with the intention of sacrificing their unfortunate wives and families, before the calamity which they must then have foreseen could not

be averted, now appeared to desert the works of the town, and seek cover or refuge among its closely packed buildings and numerous gardens and plantations, and the advance of the 55th regiment was continued as far as the west gate without opposition of any consequence, the enemy abandoning each post capable of good defence—and of these there were many—as soon as the head of the column began to close upon them.

At this last point, however, and along the ramparts facing the south, extending from the west gate towards that by which the 2nd regiment of native infantry had effected an entrance, the thick canopy of smoke which hung over the ramparts and enveloped the suburbs without, and the incessant flashes which it emitted, announced to the victors of Schoedde's brigade that their desperate foe was yet unsubdued, and that their comrades of the 3rd, or Bartley's brigade, were still kept at bay at the point of their attack.

TARTAR BOWMAN.

CHAPTER XXX.

The gates of Chin-keang-foo—An explosion—Fortunate escape of the British—The city entered by the third brigade—A detachment on the banks of the grand canal—Determination to blow open the gates—Refusal of the enemy to surrender—Effects of heat—The garrison of Chin-keang-foo—Devotion to their country—Desperate encounters with the British.

It was now near noon, and the obstinate determination of the Tartar garrison may be estimated from the fact that, although the ladders were planted against the walls on the eastern side shortly after eight A. M., the opposite point of the ramparts—the west gate—was not gained until fully three hours afterwards, although the distance along the line of the walls does not exceed a mile and a quarter. Perceiving that the enemy were still in possession of the large square bastion which covered the entrance to the inner gateway, and that the outer entrance had not yet been forced by the third brigade, General Schoedde directed a party to descend from the

ramparts and push into the bastion, with a view to assisting the entrance of General Bartley's column, by clearing it of its defenders and throwing open the gates.

The plan upon which this entrance into the city is constructed is exceedingly good, the advance to the outer pair of gates (which is by a bridge over the Grand Canal) being well swept and commanded, while the inner gateway, in the event of the former being forced, can only be approached through the open space of a confined bastion, from whose lofty walls, inaccessible save by ladders, an exterminating fire might be maintained upon the column which should attempt to gain its threshold. The inner gates, situated in an archway through the main rampart, were seized by the advanced party of the 55th regiment, without loss, and a barricade of grain and sand-bags erected within having been removed, the gates were thrown open, and Lieutenants Heriott and Johnston, with some men of the 55th, and sappers, running across the bastion, through the fire of the enemy from the walls, gained the cover of the archway of the outer gates, and began dragging away the sand-bags which were piled against them.

Finding their task, however, more laborious than they had expected, and imagining, from a partial cessation of the firing outside, that the third brigade had withdrawn from the western gateway, and were effecting an entrance elsewhere, the two officers directed the men to discontinue their work, and passing again through the bastion rejoined the column of the second brigade, which now showed its original strength, the 6th and 2nd regiments of native infantry having united themselves to the right column of attack near the western gateway. They had scarcely passed through the inner gateway, when a dense cloud of dust and smoke rose from the archway which they had quitted but a few minutes before, followed by an explosion which shook down the walls of the houses and guard-rooms which occupied the inner space of the bastion, and silenced for the moment the minor thunders which had so long been rousing the echoes of the surrounding hills. The stillness which ensued was of short duration; the wild hurrah of the 18th and 49th regiments resounded through the archway and hollow bastion, and the firm and close array of the veteran grenadiers of the assaulting column pressing onwards towards the inner gates,

with ported arms and faces and accoutrements begrimed with smoke and powder, were soon descried emerging from the lurid mass of smoke, flame, and dust, which covered the spot. On gaining the gateway in the main rampart, they encountered, not the spears and broad-swords of their fierce northern foes, but the friendly countenances and well-known colours of their comrades of the 55th, drawn up along the main street awaiting further orders from the commander-in-chief, under the full impression that all resistance on the part of the Tartars had ceased.

The entrance of the 3rd brigade, which was accompanied by Sir Hugh Gough in person, was thus effected without loss, but deplorable indeed would have been the catastrophe had the explosion at the gates taken place only a few minutes earlier, or had the two officers who endeavoured to open them from the interior continued their efforts a short time longer. The certain destruction of the whole party must have been the consequence, and their escape may well be pronounced Providential, since, at the very time when they were employed in removing the sand-bags, powder-bags were being fixed against the planks which separated them from their friends, and the match

being lighted which, had they delayed but a few brief minutes, would have hurried them into eternity.

Before proceeding with the details of this last and crowning contest of the war, it will be necessary briefly to sketch the operations of the 3rd brigade, previous to the successful entrance by the west gate which has been described. After the departure of the brigade of Lord Saltoun, in the early part of the morning, to attack the intrenched camp, the 3rd brigade moved forward towards the town, and halted in a position outside the suburb, which commanded a view of the country over which the 1st brigade had to advance, and of the ground occupied by the enemy in their front. It was the intention of the commander-in-chief to keep this brigade in reserve until the result of Lord Saltoun's movement became apparent, or until some demonstration on the part of the enemy should enable him to decide on the point on which its attack might be most favourably directed. On witnessing, however, the defeat of the Chinese, and their rout from the camp, and the firing which announced that the attack of the 2nd brigade had commenced in earnest,

Sir Hugh Gough moved the 18th and 49th regiments through the suburb, towards the west gate, which had by this time been discovered, and occupying the houses, which, according to the custom of the Chinese, were built close down to the water's edge, farthest removed from the walls, opened a heavy fire of musketry upon the parapets, whose embrasures bore upon the gateway, while Colonel Montgomerie threw round shot and shells amongst the Tartar troops, who crowded the walls extending towards the southward, and opened upon their assailants as soon as their hostile purpose became apparent. Before, however, this position had been assumed by the British troops, an event had occurred in the neighbourhood of the west gate which might have been attended by the most perilous consequences to a portion of the force.

From our entire ignorance and uncertainty regarding the condition and numbers of the garrison, and the probability of a serious resistance, it became a matter of some difficulty to assign a place for the disembarkation of the guns, so conveniently situated, that while it might afford due facility for their being landed, should at the same time possess the advantage of a

practicable line of communication for light artillery, with the various points at which the guns of the 1st and 3rd brigades were directed to act. In consequence of this, and owing also to some misunderstanding of arrangements, a detachment of artillery, with four field-pieces and howitzers, having had two boats of the Blonde appropriated for their use, in disembarking, proceeded on the morning of the engagement, under the command of Major Blundell, to the mouth of the Grand Canal, and pulled along its course, with the stream in their favour, towards the city walls, in the expectation of finding a spot on the outer bank where they might conveniently put their guns on shore, and effect a junction, or be prepared to act in co-operation with General Bartley's brigade. The silence among the houses on either side of the canal, and the seeming indifference of the enemy to their approach, induced them to continue their course, until, suddenly shooting past the cover of some high buildings which intercepted the view on the side next the city, they found themselves unexpectedly close under the ramparts, with the bridge leading to the west gate directly in front.

Their advance had been narrowly watched by the enemy, for no sooner had the two boats come fairly within their reach, than every embrasure and loophole which bore upon them sent forth a shower of balls which came rattling about the British detachment, disabling a great portion of their number, and compelling the remainder to provide, with all expedition, for their safety. To pull back out of range was impossible, as many of the hands were *hors de combat*, and the current ran with great velocity against them; the leading boat, therefore, pulled for the stone bridge, in hopes of finding shelter under the arch, while the other was under the necessity of running on shore not a pistol-shot from the city walls, where the wounded were got out as expeditiously as possible, and the boat, with guns, ammunition, and arms, left at the disposal of the Chinese garrison. The crew and detachment of artillery retreated through the suburb till they reached the bank of the river, while the party under the bridge, finding their place of refuge too hot to hold them, also abandoned their boat, and taking out their wounded, retreated along the inner or eastern bank of the canal, the enemy keeping up a brisk fire upon them till they got

under cover of the houses, but making no effort to cut them off by a sally from the gates, by which, had it been attempted, much loss must have been experienced, and the guns and boats either taken or destroyed. The garrison, however, had so effectually barricaded their gates to prevent the ingress of an enemy, that their own egress could only have been effected after considerable labour and loss of time.

As soon as this untoward affair was made known to the admiral, an order was dispatched directing the boats of the Cornwallis to proceed with a strong detachment of marines to recover the abandoned boats, and render assistance to the attacking column at the west gate. The boats, found uninjured save by the enemy's bullets, were again taken possession of, and a soldier of the artillery, whom it had been found impossible to remove from the boat in consequence of his leg having been badly fractured by a matchlock ball, was found lying, in other respects unhurt, at the bottom, under the thwarts, although he had been drifted about under the walls, exposed to the enemy's fire for a considerable time.

Meanwhile the attack of the 3rd brigade was

concentrating upon the doomed western gate, although an extended line of skirmishers was still kept engaged with the enemy along the adjacent curtain to divert their attention, and prevent them from collecting upon any particular point which Sir Hugh Gough might select for his attack. The report and recommendation of Captain Pears, the chief engineer, who had closely reconnoitred the approaches to the bastion, and the appearance of the outer pair of gates, decided his excellency to effect an entrance by blowing the latter open, and escalading the inner wall of the bastion, should obstacles be still found to interpose. An explosion-party was accordingly formed, and a strong detachment of good marksmen was thrown into the small shops and houses clustered round the foot of the bridge on the suburban side, to drive the enemy from their embrasures, and keep down their fire while the powder-bags were being carried forward. The brigade was at the same time formed in close column of sections in the streets of the suburb, in readiness to charge through the gateway when the bugles should sound the advance.

It was near noon when Captain Pears, heading

the party of sappers who carried the three powder-bags, (containing about 160 pounds,) pushed across the stone bridge under cover of a rapid discharge of musketry from the flankers of the 18th and 49th regiments, and gaining the outer entrance into the bastion without any casualty, planted the powder-bags against the great gates. The result of the explosion was most successful, the gates being torn from their hinges and blown backwards several feet into the archway, without being at all shattered; and the storming column, though advancing through a blinding cloud of smoke and dust, found their footing as sure and free from hindrance as upon the paved road outside.

About the time when the 3rd brigade rushed through the west gate, the party of marines, seamen, and artillery, who had come up to the scene of action in the boats of the Cornwallis, having landed with one scaling-ladder on the opposite bank of the canal close under the right flank of the gateway bastion, escaladed the wall near a small postern which communicated with the work, and although the first man (a marine) who mounted the ladder, was shot through the head, and others who followed were wounded, their lodgment on the ramparts was soon made good, and the gallant remnant of the enemy who yet continued their hopeless and desperate resistance refusing to surrender or accept quarter, perished by the ball or the bayonet. The contest being now terminated by the destruction of the west gates and the annihilation of the brave garrison of the bastion, the 2nd and 3rd brigades were directed to take post at the various gates of the town, and to occupy such quarters as were available for the night.

The heat had now become so intense that many of the most veteran soldiers of the army, so soon as the support which mental excitement had afforded to their failing bodies had sub-

sided, were unable to bear up longer against its destructive effects; amongst others, Sir Hugh Gough, who upon all former occasions had proved himself equal to almost any degree of fatigue and exposure, was compelled, after entering the town, to seek the shelter of a house, and lie down to preserve what little strength remained to him.

All now appeared at rest within the walls, the heavy firing on the east and west faces had entirely died away, save where here and there a stray shot might be sent after a fugitive, or, upon speculation, amongst suspicious-looking buildings; and people were beginning to enumerate the losses of the day, and to congratulate themselves that, heavy as was the list, its total had not been greater or more fatal, when suddenly the attention of all was arrested by the report of a heavy volley, followed by a sharp, steady, rolling fire, which seemed to proceed from a considerable body of men in conflict. It was the last rally of the devoted garrison of Chinkeang-foo, and it sounded the knell of many a brave spirit, well worthy of a better fate, though one more glorious, as encountered in defence of their country and their homes, could not have fallen to their lot.

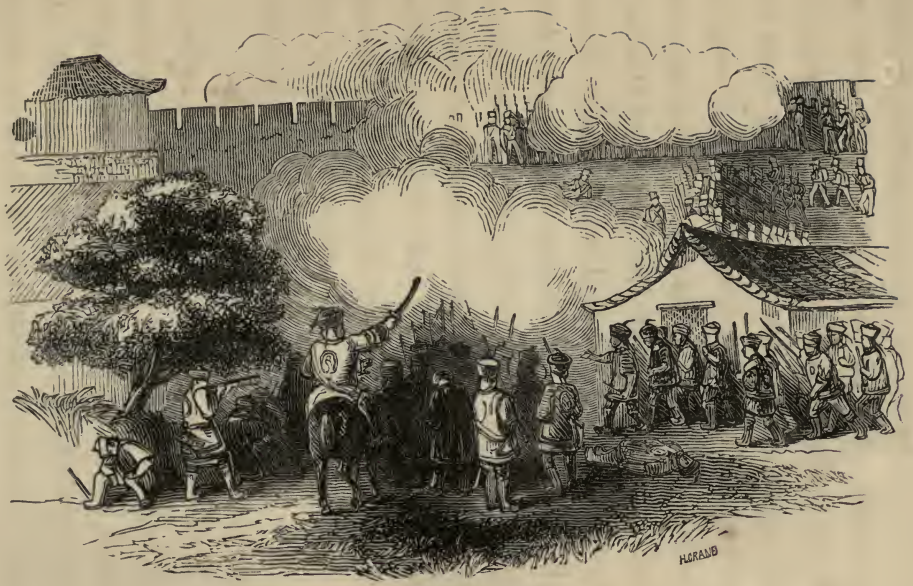
It appears that, after being driven from the ramparts and gateways, the Tartars withdrew in a body into the quarter of the city where the public buildings and their own barracks and dwelling-houses were situated. There they were harangued by the chief military mandarin, or commandant of the city, and exhorted to make one more effort to retrieve the fortunes of the day, and to prefer the death of brave men to a life ignominiously preserved by base flight before the hated race of barbarian invaders, the old Tartar concluding by recommending to all who should survive the glory and honour of their banners, death by their own hands, rather than submission to their conquerors. It is supposed that, excited by his harangue, and impelled by the same superstition whose fearful agency was traced in the blood-stained streets and dwellings of Chapoo, many of the Tartars must have rushed into their houses from the place where he had assembled them, and slain their wives and children, and then gone forth with their general, devoted and self-doomed, to die ; for in several of the houses in the Tartar quarter, the corpses of young women and children were lying as if stabbed in haste, and in most of the better

class of Tartar dwellings, an empty scabbard was found upon the floor near the principal entrance, as if each man, after passing the threshold of his home, had cast it from him in rage and despair.

The 18th and 49th regiments, after their entrance by the west gate, had been directed to make a partial circuit of the ramparts, before occupying the quarters assigned to them in the city; and in pursuance of this order, were proceeding along the terre-pleine, abreast of a space of open garden-ground, dotted here and there with fruit-trees and hedge-rows, when, on a sudden, a few dropping shots were discharged at them from some houses near the spot, and immediately afterwards a strong column of soldiers, with two mandarins on horseback at their head, emerged from a neighbouring street. Spreading out with the greatest alacrity and coolness among the trees and gardens, this unlooked-for foe poured in upon the exposed flank of the British regiments a fire so fierce and destructive, that, at the first volley, two officers and many men fell killed and wounded. Astounded at this unexpected and apparently insane attack, our men halted, and after exchanging a few volleys with their adversaries, charged down the slope of the

rampart, and getting amongst them in the open ground below, a savage conflict ensued; but the issue was never for a moment doubtful, and the Tartars, unable to contend against the fearful weapons of their determined foe, were soon flying from the death they had but a short time before so eagerly courted, and they were overcome and borne down wherever an attempt was made to meet and resist the rush of our troops. The grenadiers of the 18th, rendered furious by the loss of a favourite officer, Captain Collinson, who was shot dead on the rampart just before the charge, pressed hotly on the Tartars, and made great havoc among them; but ignorance of the localities put an early stop to the pursuit, and the survivors of the mêlée escaped through the adjacent houses and narrow streets, but only, as was afterwards ascertained, to meet a more ignoble death at their own hands.

Evening was now closing in, and guards having been placed at most of the gates, and alarm posts, the victorious troops got into quarters, wherever shelter happened to be procurable. The night, however, proved one of incessant alarms, as the attempts which were made from time to time by small parties of the survivors of the



RALLY OF THE TARTARS AT CHIN-KEANG-FOO.

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garrison to escape from the city, invariably caused a rattle of musketry far and wide, and set all the bugles and drummers sounding and beating to arms at every report. Several desperate rushes were made upon sentries and guards by Tartar soldiers who had secreted themselves in houses, and a great many men were killed during the night by the Cameronians, who were frequently aroused. Encounters took place even inside houses, which had been peaceably occupied as quarters, and in which Tartars were afterwards found concealed.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Scene of desolation at Chin-keang-foo—Burying the dead—Tartar children massacred by their parents—Attachment of an old servant—Punishment of soldiers for treachery—Preparations previous to the arrival of the British—Difficulty of obtaining supplies—Tartar ignorance of military science—Heroic conduct of their general—His self-immolation.

The morning of the 22nd July rose upon a fearful scene of desolation. The late flourishing city of Chin-keang-foo was now a spectacle of ruin; its ramparts and streets encumbered with the corpses of the slain, and the bodies of the wounded and the dying; many of its finest buildings destroyed, and its main street of shops, and the dwelling-houses near the gates, gutted by the horde of marauders who had commenced their devastations even before the tumult of the fight had ceased and its dangers were at an end. Many of these plunderers, and also most of the survivors of the garrison, must have made their escape under cover of the darkness, through a

gateway opening upon the south-east, upon which a guard had not been placed until the morning; and considering the short space of time which had been afforded in the night for their predatory proceedings, the amount of destruction and of property carried off by the marauders was truly astonishing.

Armed parties were sent out shortly after daybreak, to patrol the Tartar quarter in search of concealed soldiers, and to destroy the arsenals and depôts of military stores, while fatigue-detachments of sappers and miners were employed in collecting and interring the dead, from whose remains, owing to the excessive heat of the weather, the most noisome exhalations were already rising.

Frightful were the scenes witnessed by these men among the houses and enclosures of the city, as group after group of whole families lying stiffened in their blood, within their own homestead, were discovered in the streets occupied by the Tartar troops and mandarins, so numerous and so painfully interesting in their revolting details, as to impress with deep and lasting horror all who witnessed this happily rare example of the miseries and ferocities of war.

The bodies of most of the hapless little children who had fallen sacrifices to the enthusiasm and mad despair of their parents were found lying within the houses, and usually in the chambers of the women, as if each father had assembled the whole of his family before consummating the dreadful massacre; but many corpses of boys were lying in the streets, amongst those of horses and soldiers, as if an alarm had spread, and they had been stabbed while they had been attempting to escape from their ruthless parents.

In a few instances these poor little sufferers were found the morning after the assault, still breathing, the tide of life ebbing slowly away, as they lay writhing in the agony of a broken spine, a mode of destruction so cruel that, but for the most certain evidence of its reality, would not be believed.

In one of the houses the bodies of seven dead and dying persons were found in one room, forming a group which for loathsome horror was perhaps unequalled. The house was evidently the abode of a man of some rank and consideration, and the delicate forms and features of the sufferers denoted them as be-

longing to the higher order of Tartars. On the floor, essaying in vain to put food with a spoon into the mouths of two young children extended on a mattress, writhing in the agonies of death, caused by the dislocation of their spines, sat an old decrepit man, weeping bitterly as he listened to the piteous moans and convulsive breathings of the poor infants, while his eye wandered over the ghastly relics of mortality around him.

On a bed, near the dying children, lay the body of a beautiful young woman, her limbs and apparel arranged as if in sleep. She was cold, and had been long dead. One arm clasped her neck, over which a silk scarf was thrown, to conceal the gash in her throat which had destroyed her life. Near her lay the corpse of a woman somewhat more advanced in years, stretched on a silk coverlet, her features distorted, and her eyes open and fixed, as if she had died by poison or strangulation. There was no wound upon the body, nor any blood upon her person or clothes. A dead child, stabbed through the neck, lay near her; and in the narrow verandah, adjoining the room, were the corpses of two more women, suspended from

the rafters by twisted cloths wound round their necks. They were both young—one quite a girl—and her features, in spite of the hideous distortion produced by the mode of her death, retained traces of their original beauty sufficient to show the lovely mould in which they had been cast.

From the old man, who appeared by his humble garb to have been a servant or retainer of the family thus awfully swept away, nothing could be elicited as to the mode or authors of their death,—nothing but unintelligible signs of poignant distress. He was made to comprehend the object of the interring party, and at once testified the utmost satisfaction and gratitude for their humane interposition, assisting to carry the bodies down the staircase into the court, where, a shallow grave having been excavated beneath the pavement, he tenderly placed them in their sad resting-place, and having covered them with clothes, the stone slabs were replaced over their remains. The two dying children shortly afterwards breathed their last, and were interred beside the grave of their hapless relatives. The old man remained in the now silent abode of his lost chief, and was seen no more.

The scene here described formed unhappily but one link in a dismal chain of suffering which the horrors of our assault drew around the devoted city, and loathsome as such descriptions must be, the details in this instance have been given because the knowledge which they afford of the domestic principles and the national antipathies and prejudices of a race so interesting to us as the Tartars have now become, naturally leads to reflections of a highly important nature, and enables us also to estimate the character and capabilities of a people with whose future history and welfare it appears probable that our own will henceforward become associated.

It was evident, from circumstances that came to our knowledge, after the capture of the place, that the confidence of the Tartar general in the strength of his defences, in the valour and prowess of his men, and the skill with which his dispositions had been made, continued unshaken up to a late hour on the day of the assault, although, at the commencement of the attack, some dissatisfaction among the garrison, or disinclination for the fray, appears to have been manifested. This was inferred from the fact, that both at the east and west gates, the two

points of the city on which our main attacks were directed, the bodies of two soldiers were placed in an exposed situation, (as if to serve as an example to their comrades,) with their arms tightly pinioned behind them, and their throats cut or their heads laid open by the stroke of a sword. One man of the four had apparently been put to death in the most barbarous manner, his arms having been hacked in a series of gashes from the wrist to the shoulder, and the countenance of the unfortunate wretch being fearfully distorted by the agony he had endured. To the offence of cowardice before the enemy the Chinese military code awards death in a simple form only ; it is therefore probable that this man had been endeavouring to excite the garrison to abandon the place, or had been guilty of some other grave act of treachery.

From information given to our interpreters, by shopkeepers and others dwelling in the suburbs, subsequent to the assault, it appeared that for many days previous to the arrival of the British fleet off Golden Island, the Tartar general had made every preparation for our attack, closing the gates, suspending all traffic on the canal, forcing the inhabitants within the walls to be-

TARTAR SPEARMEN.

take themselves to the interior of the province, levying contributions of poultry, pigs, and all descriptions of provisions from the surrounding country, for the supply of the garrison and of the force encamped in the position carried by Lord Saltoun. So completely had this drained the villages for miles round the city of all such supplies, that, during the week spent by our army in occupation of the place, the utmost difficulty was experienced in obtaining the commonest necessaries, and the most practised foragers harried the neighbouring farms and every other spot that promised a supply, with little success.

Had the Tartars possessed any practical acquaintance with the science of military defence, the indomitable determination of their chief, and the devotedness and skill in the use of their arms, of which such proofs were given by his men during the various conflicts of the 21st July, must in all probability have ensured a far different result to the contest. The escalade of General Schoedde's brigade could scarcely have succeeded, had the Tartars who lined the parapets of the square eastern bastion been aware of the mode of attack about to be adopted, for the ladders attached to the brigade were only three, and

the parapets were so high above the terre-pleine of the rampart, that half a dozen matchlock-men might have coolly picked off each of their assailants, without being themselves exposed to any fire, while the great muscular strength of the Tartars must have ensured the destruction of such as leaped unhurt upon the rampart. The advance up a ladder, even by the readiest of troops, is necessarily slow, each man occupying a space in his ascent nearly equal to his own height, and being unable to pass the uppermost rungs until his front file has stepped upon the wall, so that, where moderate determination and coolness are displayed by the defenders, this mode of attack ought never to succeed unless many ladders are used, or the parapets previously beaten down by round shot, to expose the enemy on the ramparts to the view of the covering party below. The Tartars also neglected to take advantage of an admirable little work which flanked the spot where the ladders were raised, at a distance of only thirty to forty yards, and which afforded such safe cover to a small body of men for whose use niches were constructed in the masonry below, with narrow loopholes bearing upon the foot of the ramparts, that a constant

and deliberate fire might have been maintained upon the assaulting party.

At the western gate, also, instead of clearing away the houses which afforded cover for the light infantry of the third brigade, and enabled them to keep down the fire of the garrison while the powder-bags were being carried over the bridge, (which ought to have been done, to the distance of a good musket-shot in all directions) not a single building which intercepted their view of the advance of an attacking column was removed either from the banks of the wet ditch or canal, or from the bridge itself, along each side of whose roadway ran a row of single-storied shops, in the fashion of some ancient bridges in England, through which, if necessary, the sappers could have worked their way by cutting through their thin partitions, so as to have brought the bags up to the gates, without being for a moment exposed to the enemy's view. It was ascertained by some returns found in one of the military offices of the place, that the Tartars inside the city did not exceed 2300; and as it is not probable that any of these had ever before witnessed the imposing array of a disciplined army, the brilliant spectacle presented by the

pouring forth of nearly 9000 well-equipped and fully-armed soldiers, from the vast fleet which covered the river beneath them, might well excite dismay in the hearts of those who looked down from the insecure and precarious shelter of their narrow ramparts upon the formidable columns advancing for their destruction.

For some time after the capture of the city, the fate of the brave General Hailing, who had so nobly conducted its defence, was uncertain: his body could not be recognised among the slain, and none of the wounded Tartars who had been removed to our hospitals had seen him since the last desperate stand made by the remnant of the garrison among the gardens and inclosures. At length, however, Mr. Morrison, the interpreter, discovered a man who had acted in the capacity of secretary to Hailing, secreted in an out-house of a building in the Tartar quarter, and from him he elicited the particulars of the fate of this gallant man.

After haranguing his troops, he had mounted his horse, and placing himself at their head, led them to the ground upon which their desperate attack upon the 18th and 49th regiments was made: thence seeing that the main defences

of the town were in our possession, and that the day was irretrievably lost, he returned to his house, and calling for his secretary, desired him to bring his official papers into a small room adjoining an inner court of the building, where deliberately seating himself, and causing the papers with a quantity of wood to be piled up around him, he dismissed the secretary, set fire to the funeral pile, and perished in the flames. In the apartment where this strange example of barbarian heroism had been enacted, Mr. Morrison found, among some heaps of ashes and half-consumed wood, evidences of the awful sacrifice which had been so determinedly consummated, amply sufficient to corroborate the tale of his informant: the skull of the general was yet unconsumed, and the bones of the thighs and feet, though partially calcined, retained enough of their original form and appearance to be recognised. The floor of the room was paved, and the flames had consequently not extended beyond the pile of fuel. Thus perished this brave man, whose devotion to his country rendered him, to quote the words of Sir Henry Pottinger's proclamation, "worthy of a nobler and a better fate."

A sacrifice such as this would in the darker ages of the world have entitled the hero who thus devoted himself, to divine honours ; but in these our more enlightened times, while we bestow the meed of our admiration and wonder at the intrepidity and constancy displayed in such a deed, there mingles with these sentiments a feeling of regret that they should have been so misguided and so ruthless.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Cessation of hostilities within the city of Chin-keang-foo—Fertile country in its vicinity—A net-work of canals—Intercourse prevented between the banks of the Yang-tse-Kiang — Object of the campaign accomplished — Intercepted dispatches—Consternation at the overthrow of the Tartar troops.

Hostilities had now entirely ceased within the city walls and their immediate vicinity, and but very few men of the late garrison, save the wounded who had been carried into houses during the engagement, were found on the following day. Partial attacks, however, continued to be made on the outposts of Lord Saltoun's brigade, which was quartered in a village distant some miles from the city, and many wounded were sent in from time to time to be attended by our surgeons. The incessant night alarms, occasioned by parties of fugitives and marauders who hovered about our lines, also, caused much annoyance and harassment to the

troops who lay outside: in the hope of putting a stop to this petty warfare, and acting upon the information of a native interpreter, attached to the general's head-quarters, a detachment of light troops was sent out under Major Campbell, of the 41st native infantry, to scour the country, and to destroy a joss-house or building, situated amongst the hills, in which it was reported that the fugitive soldiers had found refuge, and were re-assembling. The mission, however, proved thus far fruitless, that although several buildings well situated as posts of defence were discovered, no body of armed men was seen during the excursion.

The country to the southward of Chin-keang-foo was found to stretch away in a vast and fertile plain, after passing the high range of hills which runs nearly east and west across the province; but the same observation which the appearance of the banks of the river towards the eastward had elicited, was here again called forth by the strikingly disproportionate amount of the villages and inhabitants, compared with the great extent of land capable of cultivation which met the eye in all directions.

It would have been interesting to have sur-

veyed the southern branch of the Grand Canal, and its course in this part of the province—to have noted the junction of its main lines from Soo-chow-foo, Fuh-chow-foo, and other important towns; but affairs of more consequence engrossing our attention, induced us to defer any such exploration until the close of the campaign, for which we calculated upon the abundant leisure of a long and inactive winter.

The portion of this great national work which fell under our observation on the southern bank of the Yang-tse-kiang was not calculated to impress us with any very exalted idea of its magnificent proportions and extent; it had no towing-path, was, in many parts, of inconsiderable breadth and depth, and was, moreover, traversed by a stone bridge, whose dimensions showed that none but junks of small size could be employed in its navigation. The whole surface of the province is, however, covered with so complete a network of canals, that it is difficult, when looking down upon it from the summit of the Che-keang hills, to trace the grand trunk on the southern side of the Yang-tse-Kiang; but on the northern, the scene is widely different. The canal, after winding through two or three hundred yards of marshy

ground, by an insignificant channel from the parent stream, extends in one unbroken line towards the north, as far as the eye can reach, its banks and tow-paths on either side in the highest preservation, and its dimensions, being eighty yards in width, carrying invariably four to six fathoms of water, and having sixteen feet breadth of tow-path throughout. The level of the country slopes towards the north, as it recedes more and more from the river. No current was found to affect the waters of the canal, at two or three miles' distance from the river, whence it would appear that the northern branch has no other main communication with its stream than that which opens into it above Golden Island.

Off this embouchure the Calliope frigate was anchored to prevent any intercourse between the northern and southern banks of the Yang-tse-kiang; and the reconnoissances made in boats at various times by Captain Küper, her commander, proved how effectually the whole traffic of the inland provinces had been stopped by this first blow of the campaign. For miles up the canal not a boat was to be seen. Even in the small creeks which communicated with the vil-

NORTHERN BRANCH OF THE GRAND CANAL OPENING INTO THE YANG-TSE KIANG.

lages near its banks none but the most insignificant craft were found. Terror and dismay seemed to have spread universally among the peaceful and industrious inhabitants, who apparently expected that the dreaded fire-ships would shortly carry ruin and desolation among their farms and villages.

The great object of the campaign of the Yang-tse-Kiang had thus been accomplished. The empire was severed in two, and the utter incapacity of the government to defend its people, and to avert from them the calamities which their rulers had vainly assured them could never be carried beyond the shores of the maritime districts, had now been amply and fatally demonstrated at a spot, from which, as one of the main foci of communication with the centre of the empire, the dangerous truth must soon radiate, and be understood and discussed in every obscure village community of its remotest provinces.

Shortly after the fall of the town, indeed, letters and dispatches were intercepted in their passage across the river, which proved that the glare of the blazing barracks and arsenals of the devoted city had already dispelled from men's minds some of the darkness in which the pres-

tige of the Mant-chow name had shrouded them. One of these, written by a military commandant from a city near the Hoang-ho, or Yellow River, spoke of the impossibility of detaching more troops to succour the districts of the Yang-tse-Kiang, owing to the turbulent state into which recent inauspicious events had thrown the populace in his own neighbourhood, to overawe whom, the whole of his available force was indispensably necessary. Other missives, written by people residing in the interior, described in vivid terms the distress and consternation which the complete obstruction of their chief line of communication, and the dreaded advance of the British forces, had caused amongst all classes of inhabitants.

The total overthrow of the Tartar troops at Chin-keang, under the command of one of their best generals, a favourite of the sovereign, and who had declared to him his certain anticipation of our discomfiture, must also have proved a severe blow to the pride and obstinacy of the imperial court.* The troops opposed to us were

* An intercepted dispatch, written from a town to the southward, in which the wreck of the Chin-keang-foo force had been re-assembled, furnished some interesting and terrible

all chosen men, from the various legions composing the Tartar army, and the refusal of the commander to permit the inhabitants to remove any portion of their property from the city upon the approach of the British, shows how fully he was aware that the eyes of the people were upon him and his garrison, and that upon the result of this, the first occasion on which resistance *à l'outrance* had been attempted in a fortified town, the issue of the war, and probably the fate of the dynasty which he served, depended.

details of the losses which it had suffered; and, alluding to one particular detachment of a distinguished Tartar legion, which had mustered 700 men before the assault, it stated that not 100 of them had joined the standard of the writer up to the date of his dispatch.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Preparations made for an advance upon Nanking—Disposition of the force in Chin-keang-foo—Precautions taken to prevent surprises — Re-embarkation of two brigades — Air poisoned by dead bodies—Native plundering of the city—Rough usage of the Chinese lower orders—Extensive conflagration—Night attacks—Amount of treasure found.

PREPARATIONS were now made for the advance upon Nanking, and a steamer, accompanied by the Plover surveying vessel, was dispatched up the river, to sound the passage and reconnoitre. No difficulties of any importance were found to obstruct the navigation, and the Plover having been anchored near a battery which opened upon the steamer from the south bank, the latter returned to report to the admiral. The force assigned for the occupation of Chin-keang-foo, and of the important position of which it formed the centre, consisted of the three regiments, the 55th Queen's, and the 2nd and 6th Madras native infantry, with strong detachments of ar-

tillery and sappers, under the command of Major-General Schoedde ; and as their location within the walls was considered in many respects objectionable, two battalions were stationed, with some guns, on the summit of a short ridge of hills which projected into the river at one extremity, while the other sloped downwards towards the ramparts of the city, which were effectually commanded from some joss-houses and buildings in which the troops were quartered, and the remaining battalion was posted close to the southern mouth of the Grand Canal, in some joss-houses and other commodious buildings on the summit of a hill, and near the water's edge at its base. Some of these interested us by their European style of architecture, and their unusual height of three stories. It was supposed for this reason, and from their standing apart from the Chinese suburb, that they had been erected by the Jesuits at the period when their influence at the imperial court enabled them to make endeavours to improve the arts and customs of the Chinese.

Before withdrawing the remainder of the troops for the army of Nanking, the engineers were ordered to blow an extensive and practi-

cable breach in the rampart which faced the position of Major-General Schoedde, to enable him to pour troops into the town in the event of a hostile movement within, and four mines having been made in the revetment, and charged with powder from the arsenals of the city, they were successfully sprung in the presence of a great concourse of spectators, and a vast breach produced, nearly thirty yards in width. The parapets for several hundred yards along the eastern face were also dismantled, in order to expose the rampart to the view of our sentries posted on the opposite hill, and to prevent the enemy from forming under their shelter to resist our entrance.

Many strong, hardy, northern ponies had been found in the cavalry stables in the city, and of these a sufficient number were left with General Schoedde's brigade, to mount a respectable half troop to scour the country, collect supplies, and discharge many other useful duties. All necessary arrangements having been completed at Chin-keang, the two brigades with the guns intended to act against Nanking were re-embarked, and by dusk on the evening of the 29th the whole were again on board their transports, with-

out accident or irregularity of any kind. Short as was the time since the capture of Chin-keang, it had been made a terrible example of before our departure. No description, indeed, can convey an adequate idea of the utter desolation, ruin, and abomination, which it presented on the seventh day only of our occupation after the troops had withdrawn from their quarters near the gates. It was a city of the dead, and a silence the most dismal and profound rested on its deserted streets and tenantless ruined houses, as though the blight of pestilence had swept but lately over them.

In many parts where, from there having been no troops quartered, the interring party had not been very diligently employed, the air was poisoned by the bodies of Tartar soldiers lying where they had dragged themselves to die, or where they had been thrown down by their comrades who had borne them from the field, blackened by exposure to the sun, and swollen to a prodigious size. Wild, miserable-looking dogs, flitting about the streets when disturbed from their hideous banquet, were to be seen by scores, appearing to be the only things alive which remained to haunt the abodes of the departed, save

where a gang of native plunderers might be discerned prowling about in pursuit of spoil. Scarcely a single dwelling-house, shop, temple, or public building, had escaped; all had their doors wrenched off, or their windows and walls beaten in; many were roofless, others half destroyed by fire, and the interior of most presented a mingled mass of furniture, wearing apparel, porcelain, arms, books, and every description of household goods, all torn, broken, or trodden under foot, which heaped the floors of their chambers and halls in melancholy and disgusting confusion.

Every effort was made by the military authorities to put a stop to the spoliation and plunder which were thus reducing the city to irremediable ruin; but they proceeded, in spite of the denunciations of the officers, and the energetic appeals of the provost-marshal and his guard; for while the front entrances of houses were preserved unharmed by our patrols, they were entered by passages and inlets in the rear, and entirely gutted by the plunderers who swarmed into the city after the assault, long before a suspicion was raised as to their proceedings. Indeed, what with soldiers, camp followers, sailors,

lascars, and Chinamen, (the latter of whom secreted themselves during the day, and issued forth at night like beasts of prey,) there was seldom wanting some active agent of destruction to complete the ruin commenced the night after the storm.

The guards at the gates were ordered not to suffer any plunder to pass out of the city, or, indeed, anything bearing its semblance, except bundles of necessaries carried by Chinamen: this prohibition, however, produced little effect, for independently of such licence being of course often abused, the Chinese, when they discovered the plan adopted to catch them, used to tie their borrowings up in bundles, and lower them down the ramparts, at some spot out of view of the sentries.

Revolting, however, as the scene was in the city, that presented by the suburb was a hundred-fold worse, for there, from its great extent, and the endless ramification of its lanes and alleys, it was impossible to maintain the least check upon the maraudings alike of friend and foe, and the jurisdiction and sphere of utility of the active and able Sergeant Baxter, the provost-marshal to the force, were in consequence

bounded by the city walls. Utter licence, therefore, prevailed in the unfortunate suburb, and not a boat's crew of lascars or Europeans bringing provisions ashore for the troops returned to the transports until after they had made a dive into some fresh, untouched-looking corner, or had carried a foray through a whole side of some once flourishing street. Chinamen and Europeans, Indians, Africans, and Malays, were to be seen mixed up together, jostling one another in the common chase, and generally with the greatest good humour; although when a cargo of "loot" had been collected, it was the general practice to press a gang of Chinamen to carry it off to its destination by means of persuasion not always the most gentle. It was curious, too, to observe with what patience and submission the Chinese lower orders bore all this domineering and rough usage, for it was a common spectacle to see a couple of Indians, or two or three ship's boys, with nothing but cutlasses by their sides, driving before them a score of brawny fellows, laden with bags of sugar, boxes of tea, fruits, &c., and belabouring them without mercy whenever they proved refractory; but amongst themselves, the most savage fights took place when-

ever adverse gangs of native plunderers encountered on the same preserve.

The news also of the rich harvest soon spread among the villages adjacent, and the numbers of these wretches increased hourly, until they reached such an amount and became so ferocious in their practices, that active and sanguinary measures had to be taken to get rid of them from the neighbourhood of the buildings in which some of our troops were quartered. Not a night passed without fires raging in a dozen places at once, and upon one occasion there arose a conflagration so extensive, that it was thought impossible that the buildings near the water and the greater part of the entire suburb could escape destruction. It lasted the whole of the following day, and was extinguished at last only for lack of material, leaving an extensive square void in the midst of the suburb. This destruction had been perpetrated by a party of Chinese, who being interrupted and assailed by some of their countrymen, while pillaging a rich pawnbroker's and banker's shop, had adopted the expedient of setting fire to the streets all round them, so as effectually to isolate their prey from the adjacent buildings.

A day or two before the embarkation some partial night attacks were made upon posts and guards of the artillery quartered near the "Jesuits' houses," and as some of the men received sword and spear wounds in these encounters, it was imagined that Chinese soldiers had taken advantage of the excited state of the rabble to incite them to petty hostilities, in order to harass our people, and obtain some revenge for their own losses and sufferings.

The night before the artillery and sappers and miners were embarked, these skirmishes and demonstrations became so formidable that both corps had to stand to their arms, and some howitzers were pointed down the streets, to clear away the crowds that seemed disposed to press upon our troops. This led to a great deal of desultory firing, and although the night passed away without any serious attack upon the quarters of the British, the number of dead bodies of Chinese, which the morning light disclosed to view in the streets contiguous to them, showed that there had been an abundant disposition to cause them mischief. The embarkation was, however, effected without any serious molestation, and all that remained of the rich and flourishing suburb of

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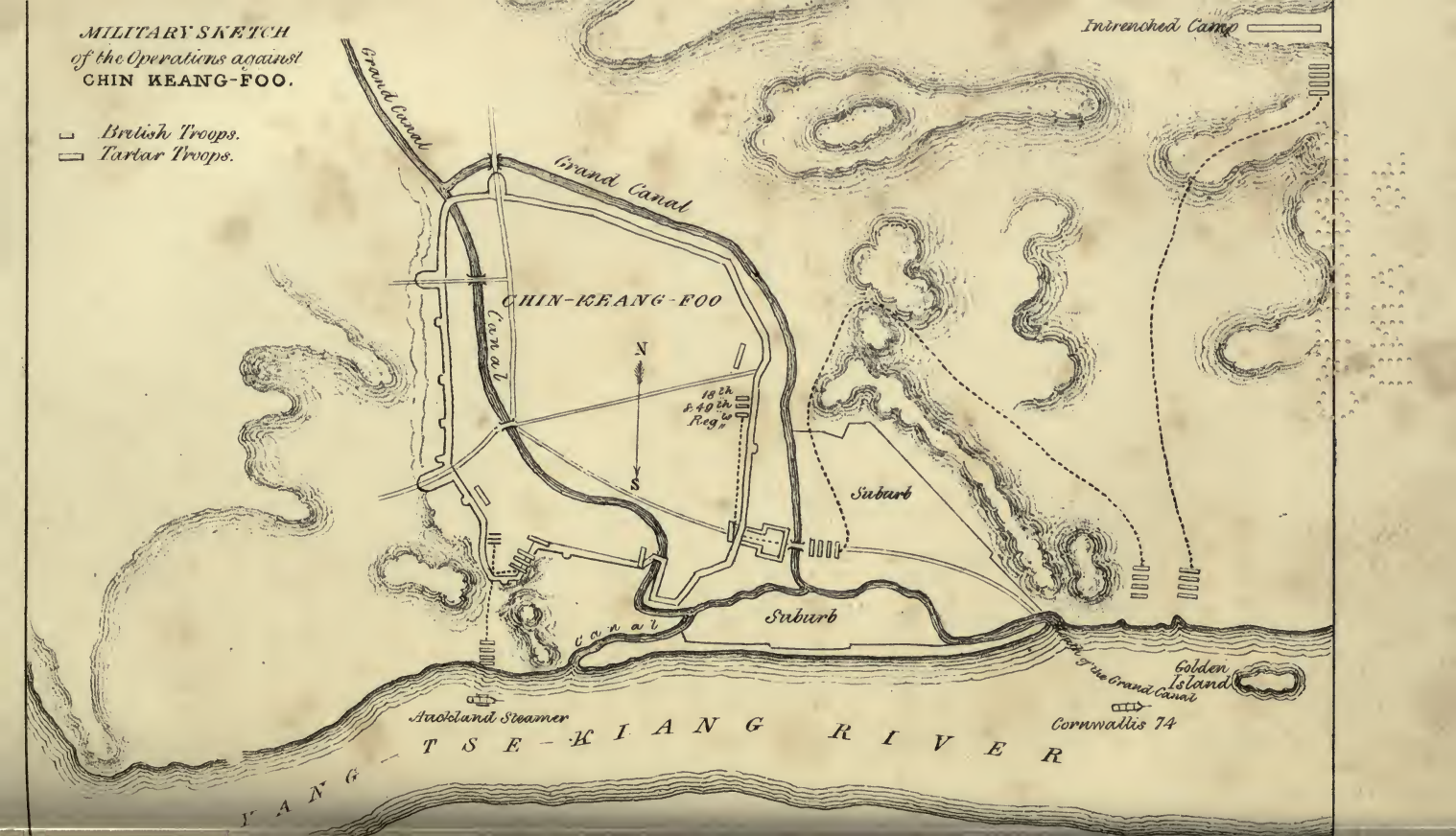

MILITARY SKETCH
of the Operations against
CHIN KEANG-FOO.
British Troops.
Tartar Troops.
Intrenched Camp
Grand Canal
Grand Canal
CHIN-KEANG-FOO
Canal
N
S
18th & 49th Regts
Suburb
Suburb
Canal
Golden Island
Cornwallis 74
Auckland Steamer
YANG-TSE-KIANG RIVER

Chin-keang-foo was abandoned to the banditti who now swarmed in its outskirts, eagerly bent upon a pursuit which in all nations alike seems to unbridle the passions of the populace, converting into a licentious and ferocious rabble what had before worn the orderly mien of a decent community. About 60,000 to 70,000 dollars was all the treasure found in the public offices of the city.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Message from Eleepoo to Sir Henry Pottinger—His reply—Deputation from Kwa-chow, to treat for ransom—Arrival of the fleet at Nanking—The porcelain tower—The walls of the city—Luxuriant vegetation—Envoys from Eleepoo—Preparations for commencing hostilities—Taiping gate—Troops quartered in Makur-keow—Rustic curiosity—First appearance of horse artillery in China—Another visit from a mandarin—Firmness of the plenipotentiary—General orders.

The ancient capital of China now lay a tempting prize within our reach, and the expedition was ready for departure, when some mandarins of higher rank than those heretofore selected to bear messages to the British "high officers," paid a visit to Sir Henry Pottinger on board the steamer, and being received by the secretary of legation, Major Malcolm, and the interpreter, Mr. Morrison, they stated that Eleepoo, the imperial high commissioner, had sent them to represent to the British plenipotentiary the urgent and sincere desire for peace which now existed

at the court of Peking ; that he, Eleepoo, had received orders to conclude, without further delay, a treaty of lasting amity ; that he was hastening from Soo-chow-foo, to meet Sir Henry at Chin-Keang; while he, therefore, begged that his excellency would remain until his arrival, when he doubted not that all differences would be adjusted between the flowery nation and the distinguished foreigners. The reply to this message was firm and of the same tenour as that already given at Shang-hae, when " Captain White " brought remonstrances from Eleepoo against our extraordinary conduct, in carrying on the war into the Yang-tse-Kiang, when he had caused it to be made known to our Tajin (chief officer) that he was prepared to treat for peace, and had proved his sincerity by liberating the whole of the prisoners detained at Hang-chow-foo.

The plenipotentiary replied that the conditions, upon which he was prepared to accede to a cessation of hostilities, were already known to the imperial high commissioner, and that, upon his producing, under the seal of the emperor, an authority to conclude a treaty of peace based upon them, hostilities should instantly cease,

and the meeting desired by the commissioner be accorded; that, until such authority should be produced, not an hour's delay should be suffered in the forward movements of the British force; and lastly, that no further communication upon the subject of peace should be received, unless prefaced by the assurance that this security against any further tergiversation on the part of the Chinese government had been received from Peking. On receiving this reply, the mandarins withdrew, declaring that Eleepoo would now hasten to Nanking, to meet the plenipotentiary, and that there everything would be satisfactorily settled.

The inhabitants of the small town of Kwa-chow, situated on the opposite side of the river, near the northern entrance of the Grand Canal, terrified by the fearful example shown them in the assault and capture of Chin-keang-foo, sent over a deputation to treat for ransom, urging that no Chinese troops or government authorities remained within its walls, and that public order had not yet been disturbed. Their proposal was at once acceded to, and the sum of 500,000 dollars was fixed as the price of its exemption from the horrors of war.

THE FLEET PASSING GOLDEN ISLAND.

The Cornwallis and several of the men-of-war left Chin-keang on the 1st and 2nd August, and arrived off the northern angle of the walls of Nanking on the 5th, the flag-ship being towed and attended by steamers; the fleet of transports followed, but owing to the great velocity of the current, the greater part of them were not able to reach the anchorage until the 8th, although the distance by the river does not exceed forty miles. The small battery, which had shown symptoms of hostility against the first steamer sent up to reconnoitre, had been since abandoned; a huge white flag waved from the walls of Nanking, over a battery near which the Cornwallis lay at anchor, and was recognised as the harbinger of that peace which we had imagined to be yet far distant.

Some mandarins came off to the flag-ship immediately on her arrival, to beg that no hostilities might be commenced, for that Eleepoo was close at hand, with full powers to treat, and every disposition to accommodate matters without delay. They were referred, of course, to the plenipotentiary, when his excellency's steamer arrived, and were informed that operations should be delayed for a short time, to allow of the pro-

duction of Eleepoo's authority, and that if it proved satisfactory, no injury whatever should be inflicted upon the city.

In the meantime, however, a reconnoissance of the defences was carried on as far as confinement to the river's bank permitted; but, aided by a native plan, which Mr. Morrison had obtained through some of his employés, it proved sufficient to enable the general and admiral to arrange the plan upon which the town should be attacked, in the event of hostilities becoming again necessary. From the shipping little could be seen of its contour beyond a long extent of lofty wall, apparently in good condition, stretching from an angle within a hundred yards of the river's bank away to the southward and eastward, till it was lost amongst the hills. Several commanding eminences crowned with buildings were seen within this rampart, and in the distance, distinguished by its height from all the other minarets and pagodas which reared their heads into the air, we beheld the famed porcelain tower of Nanking.

Numerous tents were visible along the walls, but as the traffic of the city is exclusively carried on upon the banks of a wide canal, running

from the river along the west and part of the south face of the fortifications, no bustle or uproar was heard, nor were groups of spectators, interested by the novel sight of a British fleet, to be seen clustered on the walls in our immediate neighbourhood.

A branch of the river was found to extend from the north angle of the walls to a commodious landing-place about five miles distant, at which an excellent paved road commenced, taking a direction towards the farthest visible point of the city, and leading, according to Mr. Morrison's plan, direct to one of the principal gates, called the Taiping. The main portion of the walls appeared to be surrounded by a swamp, forbidding approach save by causeways, which might lead to the various gateways; but towards the south, a lofty range of hills, whose western extremity sloped down to the foot of the ramparts, and gave a command *ad libitum* over their defences, seemed to invite us to enter at once by the easy road to which it pointed. The surrounding country is undulating, and is intersected by abrupt and lofty ridges in a manner exceedingly picturesque, presenting one vast extent of unvarying green, quite dazzling to the eye; not that

the cultivation of its level tracts could be considered remarkable for richness, or for that elaborate agricultural industry which we had been accustomed to witness in the districts near the thickly-peopled coast to which our opportunities had been hitherto confined; indeed, a great proportion of the land whose level admitted of profitable, dry cultivation, appeared left to waste, or rather to the bounty of nature, whose lavish hand had clothed its slopes and hills and dales with a garment of the most luxuriant vegetation; trees also were not wanting to complete the exceeding beauty of the landscape, but, as usual, they were of stunted growth, and displayed but few characteristics of their ancestral forest race, whose habitat seems in this country so remote from the haunts of man.

The waters of the Yang-tse-Kiang at this point of its course had worn for themselves a wide passage through a spear of hills, formed of ancient volcanic rock of a soft and porous character, leaving on either bank an isolated mass of undulating ground, which on the south forms the extremity of the tongue encompassed by the city walls, and on the north is broken up into a number of minor ridges, forming a sort of amphi-

theatre, which the Chinese of former days converted into a fortified inclosure; and a wall still exists in tolerable repair, running along the summits of the hills, and descending to the bank of the river at either extremity, from whose form and outline it may be conjectured that it was intended to repel aggressions from the hordes of the north, at a period when Nanking was the capital of the empire and the residence of the dynasty of the Mings, while yet the Chinese were an unconquered and a tail-less race.

On the 9th August, the promised communication of Eleepoo, regarding the powers with which he was vested by the emperor, was made on board the Queen to the secretary of the British plenipotentiary, and proved, to the surprise and indignation of his excellency, to be altogether insufficient to warrant him in suffering farther delay in the operations against the city, for which the two commanders-in-chief were fully prepared.

The envoys of Eleepoo were therefore dismissed, with the assurance that the morrow should see the British troops arrayed before the walls of Nanking; and the resolution which his excellency had thus been compelled to adopt

was communicated without loss of time to the general and admiral, with a request that hostilities might be resumed forthwith.

In pursuance of this intimation, the Cornwallis moved on the following morning into a position from which the northern angle of the walls could be battered by her broadside, and the Blonde frigate was towed down the creek, until her guns bore upon the point which the admiral had selected for breaching and enfilading the battery which covered it, and over which the white flag yet floated. Though both ships were brought by this change of position within close range of their guns, the Chinese abstained from any demonstration of hostility, and the seventy-four and frigate anchored and prepared to open at day-break next morning, without a shot having been fired on either side.

In the meantime, Lord Saltoun's brigade was put on board steamers, and towed on the evening of the 10th to the lower extremity of the creek, where they were disembarked, and occupied for the night some joss-houses and other buildings in the vicinity.

The transports, containing the horses of the Madras troop of light artillery and the ponies

of the foot batteries dropped down to the same point, and the banks of the creek displayed on the following morning a scene of the most animated and exciting bustle, as horses were brought on shore, guns landed and mounted on their carriages, and ammunition and stores prepared for service with a dispatch which to the uninitiated observer would appear magical.

By Mr. Morrison's Chinese sketch of the city, it appeared that at the south-eastern angle there stood a fortress, partly independent of the main line of defence or enceinte of the place, in which, as at Chapoo, the Tartar troops were quartered aloof from the populace, whom it was their business to overawe and defend. Separated on two sides by ramparts drawn within those of the body of the place, this Tartar garrison is yet exposed on the south and east to a direct attack, by gateway, mine, or breaching battery, from its having on those faces but one line of wall, in common with that of the city.

From the reconnoissance which had been made, these walls were judged far too lofty to be reached by our scaling-ladders, but the gateways being situated in tunnels carried through the masonry, without returns or bastion-de-

fences, as at Chin-keang-foo, offered an easy means of access by a powder-bag operation, and the dry, firm appearance of the surrounding country, through which the paved-road appeared to extend the whole way from the landing-place to the city, promised facility in the operation of transporting the few eight-inch howitzers, sufficient for a breaching-battery.

To assist in rendering practicable the breach proposed to be made by the broadside guns of the Cornwallis, Colonel Montgomerie was directed to land four howitzers, to be placed in battery near the mouth of the creek, and General Bartley's brigade was detailed to form the storming column, supported by a battalion of marines and seamen, to carry the breach on the following morning, and then to proceed by the ramparts towards the Taiping gate, on which Lord Saltoun's brigade was in the meantime to make a feint, throw it open for their admittance, and, the forces being united at that point, to proceed against the Tartar citadel. Captain Pears, however, the chief engineer, having landed under the walls on the evening of the 10th, to mark out the site of the proposed battery, made his way on to the foot of the escarp, to ascertain the na-

TAIPING GATE, NANKING.

ture of the ground over which the assaulting column would have to move on their way to the breach.

This reconnoissance led to a discovery which put a stop to further proceedings in the quarter selected; for, intervening between the bank of the river and the ramparts, Captain Pears found a wide and deep ditch, a branch of the creek in which the Blonde lay anchored, which it would have been impossible to cross save by boats or by a flying bridge; the project was therefore abandoned, and Sir Hugh Gough, sending directions to Lord Saltoun to co-operate with him in a reconnoissance on the following day, landed on the morning of the 11th with an escort, for the purpose of maturing a new plan of attack.

In the meantime, Lord Saltoun's brigade moved in a southerly direction, by the paved-road from the village near the creek, preceded by an advanced guard of rifles, supported by two of Major Anstruther's guns. Several positions well calculated for defence were passed on the march, but the enemy attempted no molestation, and we learned from the village people, a few of whom yet remained in their fields and dwellings, that all the Tartar and Chinese troops, including a

considerable body of cavalry, recently arrived, were quartered within the city, and had no intrenched positions or camp beyond the walls. The brigade halted about three miles from the gate, and found commodious quarters in the extensive village of Makur-Keow, where also Lord Saltoun established his head-quarters, and Sir Hugh Gough returned to the shipping to make arrangements for the disembarkation of the third brigade, and to request the admiral to dispatch a steamer to Chin-keang-foo, to bring up the flank companies of the three regiments left there, which, from the statements of the country people, and from the appearance of countless tents along the ramparts of the city and Tartar citadel, his excellency judged would be more serviceable here than at the mouth of the grand canal.

The view obtained from an eminence near the walls during the reconnoissance of the 11th proved highly satisfactory, as to the feasibility of the projected assault on the Taiping gate: the approach, which was by a broad paved causeway, elevated many feet above the broken ground near the foot of the walls, appeared to be flanked by only one insignificant work, and an excellent

cover for riflemen was observed close up to the gateway, where, besides thick clusters of trees, tall shrubs, and grass, several small houses, had been left standing. The road was so broad and straight, that a field-piece could be run along it with ease until within a short distance of the gates, which a few round shot would in all probability bring down, even if barricaded in their rear before our advance took place. At the time of our inspection they were still open, and people, apparently refugees from the neighbouring villages, were passing in, with their moveables on their heads and shoulders. The appearance of the reconnoitring party excited no particular attention; the soldiers crowded to the parapets and gazed through the embrasures, but no sign of hostility or suspicion was made; while the people of the villages, instead of testifying alarm, left their fields to crowd round the troops, and examine their dress and arms with rustic curiosity. During the 11th and following day, the artillery were engaged at the landing-place, (Ma-tam-keang,) in getting some nine-pounders and howitzers on shore, and by the evening of the 13th, a formidable park of all calibres and descriptions had been formed at the

village where Lord Saltoun's head-quarters had been established.

For the first time also since their arrival in China—a spectacle certainly never before witnessed in its territories—the troop of horse artillery, from Madras, having brought their horses and the whole of their splendid equipment on shore, without any accident, marched from the creek and joined the force concentrated round Makur-keow, where they found excellent stabling in some farm buildings, and abundance of forage and litter in the barns and storehouses, which had been deserted on the approach of the 1st brigade. The efficient condition in which this fine troop, after a confinement on ship-board of nearly four months, under all the disadvantageous circumstances necessarily resulting from the unfavourable temperature and the novelty of the duty, took the field before Nanking, elicited much admiration from the force.

The promptness of the plenipotentiary's movements produced a marked effect upon the councils of the Chinese authorities, and a secretary of Keying, a mandarin of high rank, lately arrived from Peking, to co-operate with Eleepoo in the commission for the "settlement of the

affairs of the foreigners," was immediately sent to the Queen steamer, to intercede earnestly for a delay in the progress of the British troops, until time had been given for the imperial authority to be received.*

Major Malcolm informed the messenger that the fiat of the plenipotentiary was unalterable, that the progress of the British general could only be stayed by the production of the required imperial authority, and that the misery which Eleepoo in his letter deprecated as awaiting the noble city for want of a simple document which would be sent from Peking the instant the court were informed of its necessity, could only be averted by their compliance with the demand of which they had already had full and timely warning. The secretary, Yang, appeared forcibly

* A mandarin came that night to the bank of the river near which the Queen lay at anchor, and was heard by her people on deck to hail the steamer in accents of the most rueful distress. A boat was sent on shore, and the mandarin returned in it, bringing with him the communication referred to, and testifying by his expressions and mien how completely the prompt advance of the first brigade had convinced the authorities that they had now a "high officer" to deal with, upon whom their diplomatic wiles were utterly thrown away.

struck with the firmness and determination of this reply, and took his leave with a solemn assurance that the required document should be forthcoming on the morrow.

On the 18th, a letter was published, in general orders, from His Excellency Sir Henry Pottinger, to Lieutenant-General Sir Hugh Gough, G.C.B., in the following words :—

"Head Quarters, on board the Marion, off Nanking, 18th August, 1842.

"The Lieutenant-General commanding has much pleasure in publishing the following extract from a letter, received last night from her majesty's plenipotentiary :—

"'It affords me great satisfaction to have it in my power to inform you that my negotiations with the Chinese high officers, who have been appointed by the emperor to treat for peace, have advanced to that stage which authorizes me to beg that you will consider hostilities suspended.'

"The force on shore must now be considered as in temporary occupation of a friendly country, and Sir Hugh Gough requests officers commanding brigades and corps will impress upon all

under their command the increased necessity of treating the inhabitants with forbearance, and punctually paying for all supplies.

" By order.

(Signed) " A. MOUNTAIN,

" Lieutenant-Colonel."

CHAPTER XXXV.

Preliminaries of a treaty agreed upon—Chinese commissioners visit the plenipotentiary—The visit returned—Chinese repast—Effects of a military band—Meeting appointed to discuss the articles of the treaty—Appearance of the interior of the city—The treaty of Nanking signed—Its leading features.

Negotiations now proceeded rapidly between the secretaries of the plenipotentiary and the imperial commissioners, and daily interviews took place, during which a spirit of fairness was exhibited by the Chinese very much at variance with that which characterized all their previous proceedings towards us.

The preliminaries of a treaty having been agreed upon, and the document itself being under preparation for signature, the imperial commissioners signified their wish to be permitted to pay their respects to the plenipotentiary on board his vessel, with a view to pave

the way to free and unrestrained intercourse. Their polite proposal was immediately acceded to, and the Cornwallis selected for their reception; and on the 20th August, the principal officers of all branches of the combined expedition having been summoned to do honour to the occasion, Eleepoo and Keying, together with the viceroy of the province, and a retinue of civil and military mandarins, came off and presented themselves at the gangway of the flag-ship, to tender their first overture for a friendship and intercourse which the habits and prejudices of ages of bigotry and undisputed dominion had, until this memorable epoch in their history, taught them to scorn and reject with contumely. How striking the contrast between this scene and that enacted at the mouth of the Pei-ho but two years before, when the commissioner, Keeshen, declared it to be utterly impossible for him to compromise so far the dignity of the celestial empire, as to go on board a barbarian ship to visit a foreign plenipotentiary!

The high officers were of course received with every mark of respect and consideration, and the interview lasted about an hour, during which many fine speeches were made, and much cherry

brandy consumed, when it broke up to the satisfaction of all parties, Sir Henry Pottinger arranging with the commissioners on their departure to return their visit of ceremony on the 22nd, at a place to be appointed by them on shore. The 22nd, however, proved tempestuous, and the plenipotentiary, in consideration of the age and infirm constitution of Eleepoo, postponed the meeting until the 24th, when it took place in due form in a joss-house of no great pretension outside the city walls. As the permission to attend upon this occasion was not restricted to particular grades, a great assemblage of officers of all arms took place near the appointed spot, although the distance by land from the head-quarters of Lord Saltoun's force was considerable, and the day intensely hot; and about noon, the plenipotentiary, admiral, and general, having arrived from their vessels, the whole party proceeded in boats up the wide creek.

On arriving at the joss-house, the British chiefs were received by a party of mandarins, and conducted across an outer court between the ranks of a detachment of soldiers, drawn up in the form of a crescent, without any arms save

CHINESE SWORDSMAN.

the spears to which their banners were attached, and these latter were displayed in great numbers. The troops selected for this duty were not Tartars, who had probably been expressly spared the humiliation of this ceremony, as they still wore the garb of mourning (a white dress) for their friends and relatives who fell at Chin-keang-foo. Behind the plenipotentiary's party, as a guard of honour, marched the magnificent grenadier company of the 18th Royal Irish, whose appearance contrasted strangely with the ungainly dress and almost ludicrous style of the imperial soldiery, who gazed upon their new allies with undisguised astonishment. A most curious band was drawn up in an inner space, and when the plenipotentiary made his appearance from the outer court, three guns, the usual Chinese salute upon all occasions, were fired, and the note of welcome was taken up by the band instruments, whose music was not, however, very melodious.

The imperial commissioners now came forward to receive their distinguished guests, and ushered them into an inner apartment, where seats of honour had been ranged for the principal parties, the whole assemblage following. A repast *à la*

Chinoise was spread in several rooms, comprising an infinite variety of delicacies, as curious as difficult to be described, and the ceremony of the meeting was soon brought to a close, the conversation between the commissioners and the plenipotentiary being confined to common-place matters, and avoiding all reference to business. At Eleepoo's particular desire, Major Anstruther, of Ningpo celebrity, was introduced to him: when in charge of the Che-keang province, this imperial commissioner had shewn much kindness to the gallant officer during his imprisonment. The mandarin, Chew, who had on many occasions diversified his unsavoury prison fare by piquant courses from his own table, was also present, and with great cordiality greeted his old friend, who had won his heart by presents of some of his admirable sketches.

As the interview drew to a close, the band of the 18th regiment having finished a capital repast of mutton, beef, bread, vegetables, &c., with which the mandarins had regaled them in a gallery of the building, struck up our national anthem with startling emphasis. In an instant the outer hall was deserted; the Chinese officers, high and low, red buttons and white, all rushed out of the joss-

CHINESE SPEARMAN.

house, and crowded round the musicians, listening to the air with pleased attention ; some even, whose place was near the august person of Eleepoo, slunk off towards the point of attraction, to share in the wonder which the novel sounds of civilized music excited in the gaping crowd.

It was amusing to observe the serious interest with which some of the mandarins and soldiers inspected the piled muskets of the guard, and gazed upon the figures and accoutrements of the grenadiers. When the magnates of both nations issued from the hall into the open space, and were received by the guard of honour with presented arms and colours lowered, the band once more making the walls of Nanking re-echo the national air, the scene was exceedingly striking. Before quitting his distinguished entertainers, who accompanied him to the outer entrance, where again a salute of three guns was fired, Sir Henry Pottinger intimated his earnest desire to meet them again at as early a period as convenient, for the purpose of discussing with them in person matters connected with the pending treaty requiring explanation and careful and calm consideration. The commissioners readily

assented, and appointed the 26th for an interview, within the walls of the city, pointing out, at the same time, the gate through which the plenipotentiary should pass.

On the day of the meeting, a detachment of the Madras horse artillery escorted Sir Henry Pottinger, and some led horses were taken to the city gates for the use of his suite. They were received in the residence of a mandarin, in the heart of the city, in the most unostentatious manner, which seemed a good earnest of their peaceful intentions. There were but few of our people present, except those of his excellency's suite ; but it was remarked, with some surprise, that the meeting, although of such vital interest to the nation and its government, was not regarded as private or exclusive by the Chinese, who crowded into the apartment, and were suffered to listen to all that passed, which they did with the most profound attention and eager interest. Among other important topics discussed, was the opium trade, upon which subject the plenipotentiary had prepared a paper for the information of the commissioners, displaying great knowledge of the subject, and pointing out that the only course remaining for the emperor's

adoption was to permit the traffic by barter, under regulations so stringent, and at the same time so liberal, that the temptations to smuggling would be removed, and much of the profligacy produced by the contraband system be thereby obviated.

The party who entered the city upon this occasion saw but little of its interior. They described the streets as narrow, and the houses, for the most part, mean; but as all shops and dwellings were closely shut, and the streets blocked up by barrier gates and endless crowds of astonished lookers-on, the idea which they were enabled to form of the famed city was derived through means too imperfect to furnish a correct picture of its features and peculiarities. The beautiful Arab horses of the escort attracted great and undisguised admiration, and the troopers who remained outside in charge of them were overwhelmed with good treatment and civilities by the mandarins, who crowded about the horses, and examined them minutely with the utmost astonishment and delight. Sir Henry Pottinger subsequently proposed to the commissioners to forward to Peking, as a present to the emperor, two teams of whites and

greys, from the troop ; but whether from a fear of incurring suspicion of bribery in their public capacity, or from an idea that the horses would form but intractable members of the imperial household, the rare and valuable gift was respectfully refused.

On the 29th, the treaty of Nanking was signed on board the Cornwallis. The commissioners came in plain attire, but attended by a numerous and gorgeous retinue, composed of the élite of the vice-regal court of Nanking and of the military force of the province. Eleepoo appeared so infirm, that he was with difficulty led up the ladder to the quarter-deck of the seventy-four ; and he was supported by his attendants in a tottering state into the cabin, where the ceremony was performed. Copies of the treaty had been prepared in Chinese and English, and a royal salute was fired as the last received the needful authentication, the imperial flag flying the while at the main, and the British ensign at the mizen of all the ships of war. The health of the Queen of England (and, singularly enough, not that of the Emperor of China) was then drunk in cherry brandy, and the august party broke up. The day following Sir Henry Pottinger published, for

the information of the combined force, a sketch of the leading features of the treaty, with an assurance of his entire confidence in the sincerity of the imperial cabinet. The following were the articles of the treaty signed on the 29th August, 1842 :—

1. Lasting peace and friendship between the two nations.
2. China to pay twenty-one millions of dollars in the course of the present and three succeeding years.
3. The ports of Canton, Amoy, Foo-chow-foo, Ningpo, and Shang-hae, to be thrown open to British merchants. Consular officers to be appointed to reside at them, and regular and just tariffs of imports and exports (as well as transit) duties to be established and published.
4. The island of Hong-Kong to be ceded in perpetuity to her Britannic Majesty, her heirs and successors.
5. All subjects of her Britannic Majesty (whether natives of Europe or India) who may be in confinement in any part of the Chinese empire, to be unconditionally released.

6. An act of full and entire amnesty to be published by the emperor, under his imperial sign-manual and seal, to all Chinese subjects, on account of their having held service or intercourse with, or resided under the British government or its officers.
7. Correspondence to be conducted on terms of perfect equality amongst the officers of both governments.
8. On the emperor's assent being received to this treaty, and the payment of the first six millions, her Britannic Majesty's forces to retire from Nanking and the Grand Canal, and the military post at Chin-hae to be also withdrawn; but the islands of Ko-lang-soo and Chusan are to be held until the money payments and the arrangements for opening the ports be completed.

NANKING, FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Excursions in the environs of Nanking—Country residences of the Chinese—Their skill in carving—Silk merchants at Makur-Keow — Magnificent Chinese tomb — Antique remains—"Hall of ancestors"—Deficiency of furniture—Grotesque scene—Monumental emblems — Want of an interpreter—Evidences of former magnificence.

The period thus actively passed by the plenipotentiary was spent by the troops in excursions to the numerous points of interest in the environs of Nanking; and in spite of the excessive heat, so industrious were we in the pursuit of the curious and picturesque, that scarcely a spot remained unvisited, having any claim upon our attention, which came within the range of a day's work of the little Tartar ponies that we had brought up from Chin-keang-foo.

The village of Makur-Keow, in which the greater portion of the troops were quartered, was interesting, as it contained a number of houses, evidently the country residences of men

of opulence and rank, whose construction and furniture were perfectly new to the majority of us. The one occupied by Lord Saltoun, the staff, and the engineers, was on so extensive a scale, as to cover a space of 2500 square yards, exclusive of stables, and a spacious farm-yard, cow-house, granary, &c.; while another, occupied by the artillery, was still more extensive. The style in which these *maisons de campagne* are built is peculiar, but like every thing and usage adopted by the Chinese, it is admirably suited to the climate, under whose influences their habits are formed: every mansion is surrounded by a high wall without windows or openings, except the doors for entrance, and within this enclosure are open spaces or quadrangles, round which the public apartments and dormitories are built, opening into the area by lattice-doors, which in the hot weather are removed altogether, and in winter are replaced by others having the upper half formed of split oyster-shells to admit light, and exclude snow and rain.

Excepting the roof and outer enclosing wall, the houses of the Chinese are made entirely of wood. Trellis-work covered with a delicate

gauze is used for partitions, and the communications between the apartments are profusely ornamented with carving. In the house occupied by the artillery brigade, some of the richest and most tasteful specimens of this beautiful art adorned what had been the ladies' apartments: one group, the admiration of us all, forming a passage between two of the "fragrant" apartments, (as the rooms of the women are called,) consisted of imitations, in a rich dark-coloured wood, of an avenue of young bamboos, their graceful branches entwining over head to form the arch, and their taper stems encircled by creepers, which clung to them in the most tasteful and picturesque manner conceivable. The same skill in carving is displayed in the decorations of their beds, the frames of which are formed of heavy solid panels, richly inlaid and bordered by fine fret-work of vine or lotus leaves, curiously distributed: they appear, indeed, to bestow more care upon the ornaments of this article of furniture than upon all the other decorations of their dwellings, fitting them up with rich hangings and fringes, and suspending from all projections in their frames large bullion silk tassels of the most gorgeous hues.

It may easily be conceived, as the troops had little to do while quartered before Nanking, and as their mischievous and marauding propensities were confined by the provost-guard to the limits of the walls within which their particular billet lay, that the mansions appropriated by the advance-brigade were thoroughly ransacked before they came again into the peaceful possession of their owners.

So rapid had been Lord Saltoun's advance towards the walls, that the inhabitants of Makur-Keow, when first apprised of the close proximity of their invaders, by the appearance of the dark uniforms of the rifles among their out-buildings, had only time to close their doors and make their escape towards the city by back-ways, carrying with them, of course, very little of their moveable property, and leaving their clothes, furniture, and valuables, to the rapacity of the invaders, and of their own more desperate countrymen. The majority of the proprietors of these large houses appeared to be silk merchants or manufacturers, as many looms, some in employment and with the web in progress, as also a considerable quantity of raw silk, were found in the out-offices. Those who know the usual

value of this costly production, will be shocked to learn that hanks of it were twisted together by the men, and used as swabs to dry the floors of the barrack-rooms. Large stores of coal were found in most of the principal houses, piled in the English manner, its use being evidently confined to the kitchen.

Under these circumstances of idleness and ennui, the Porcelain Tower became, as may be supposed, the great point of attraction to the whole force: its approach from the camp lay through a remarkably picturesque and interesting country, winding along by the curious paved road leading to the Taiping gate, and branching off, about a mile from that point, towards Chinkeang-foo, until it came close under the walls, near a remarkable orillon flank, which seemed to have been constructed to cover a curtain, at whose foot some broken ground offered many accessible points for escalade. Near this flank, and close to the Taiping gate, we found a salient angle of the ramparts, which could have been mined with ease and security, as no fire, except from a piece in the embrasure immediately over the angle, could have injured the party working below.

From the orillon the road runs parallel with the walls of the Tartar city until it reaches a rising ground opposite the principal gate, where is situated a magnificent Chinese tomb, representing the raised cenotaph usually seen in their burial places; the style of architecture is massive and striking: it is situated at the extremity of a fine broad road, enclosed between the ramparts, which is paved with large smooth slabs of a dark-coloured limestone, of which material the building itself is constructed. Its form is that of a truncated quadrangular pyramid, about 250 feet long, 180 feet high, and 160 feet broad, bearing on its summit an enclosed but roofless building, in each of whose four walls a handsome arch is turned, opening to the cardinal points; the whole forming a monument so decidedly Egyptian in its style and outline, that the traveller, were he able to exclude from his view the surrounding objects, might fancy himself wandering among the ruins of Luxor or Thebes.

The cenotaph, as far as we could ascertain, was a solid mass of marble, no opening being visible save at the foot of the building, where a spacious tunnel commenced, passing through to the opposite side, at a high angle leading to flights

MONUMENT NEAR NANKING, SUPPOSED TO BE THE TOMB OF THE MINGS.

of steps, by which the summit was gained; the whole edifice, and the paved arena and ramparts adjoining, bore evidences of great antiquity, and appeared so entirely out of keeping with the Chinese buildings at the entrance of the main inclosure, that we all concluded they had been the work of an era far more remote than any to which the known history of China refers.

The country around is covered with fine rich grass, and along this, in the direction of the principal gate of the Tartar city, we were much interested by a most singular avenue of quadrupeds and monsters of all known and unknown descriptions, carved in a rude style out of solid blocks of marble, of such enormous size as to fill us with wonder regarding the means by which they had been moved from their native quarries. This strange collection comprised gigantic horses, elephants, zebras, camels, lions, &c., all in a fair state of preservation, the figures of which were disposed after the manner of the celebrated alley of the sphinxes at Luxor; and from the long rank grass which buried many of them to half their height, the sunken state of others, and the presence of large masses of marble in the vicinity, which had evidently formed por-

tions of former buildings, we judged that the whole must, at some remote period, have composed a magnificent temple, in honour, perhaps, of their gods, or of some renowned and ancient dynasty. There is one remarkably fine building within the inclosure, which appeared to be very ancient, used as a "hall of ancestors,"—viz., for public meetings, for examinations of students, and for the controversies of their sages and moralists; this hall is more than 250 feet long, by 200 feet broad, under a single roof of lofty proportions, and supported in a light and striking manner upon strong timbers, of the girth of a seventy-four's lower mast. It was quite empty when our party took possession of it for the night, save a few drums and images, and in the centre a raised and inclosed sort of altar, on which was a shrine and image of the Queen of Heaven, but which, being the only boarded place in the hall on which our carpets could be laid to protect us from the chill of the pavement, was speedily appropriated for the more mundane purpose of a dormitory for a dozen tired wonder-seekers.

From the want of chairs and tables in this place, we were put to dreadful shifts the first

night we passed there, and even our Indian servants, usually so fertile in expedients, were puzzled how to provide for our undeniable wants. Doors were taken off their hinges, for a mess-table, and everything which could represent a seat, even to the very chair of her celestial majesty, who was put by *pro tem.*, was pressed into the service, before the grumblings of the travellers were stilled ; and when night closed in, and Chinese candles, and wicks dipped in a salt-cellar full of oil for a lamp, shed their flickering light over the gloomy hall, they illuminated a most grotesque and curious scene.

Moscheto curtains (for this torment of tropical life exists in China to an awful extent) and apologies for them of all descriptions, suspended by strings from the roof, or from a tripod of three bamboos lashed together, were fluttering in the dark recesses of the hall, while the *debris* of our supper, and the curious contrivances of utensils and apparatus by which it had been accomplished, the motley appearance of the group, squatted round the board of doors at the feet of the imperial joss, together with the loud peals of laughter which resounded through the vast edifice, would have satisfied the most sceptical observer that we

had truly and entirely "*changé tout cela.*" Contiguous to the "hall of ancestors" were two or three other buildings of smaller size, ranged in the form of a square, all built of wood save the roofs, which are formed of yellow tiles, glazed with peculiar brilliancy, which we had observed in the temples of Poo-too, near Chusan, and in the ancient joss-houses and halls of Kintang, or Golden Island. In one of these were several remarkable monuments of black marble, consisting either of upright slabs set into pedestals, or of square shafts borne upon the back of a gigantic tortoise, a form of monument which seems to be characteristic in China of the respect exacted to the memory of members of the royal family, as on Golden Island, and at Nanking, we observed that the imperial dragon, and other marks appertaining to royalty, were carved on the borders of the entablatures which bore the honorific inscriptions. On this occasion we had unfortunately no interpreter with us,—even Captain C., of the French frigate, who had accompanied us, having left his Chinaman behind; but from the proximity of the mausoleum to the walls of the Tartar city, in which it was known the site of the ancient palace of the Ming dynasty was situated, and from the

TUNNEL THROUGH THE TOMB OF THE MINGS.

occasional occurrence of portions of a paved road running across and beneath mounds of an artificial form in the direction which the Chinese maps assign for the ancient wall of Nanking, we unanimously concluded that the mass of buildings and inclosure were the remains of an edifice, which had stood within the city at a period when the national ideas of architecture and notions of the picturesque were less barbarous than those displayed in the works which we have seen elsewhere during the progress of the war. There are several other tombs of marble, forming a sort of crypt or mausoleum, scattered over the plain to the eastward of the Tartar city, all containing monumental effigies of a gigantic size, but not distinguished by the mark of the dragon, and all evidently forming parts of a whole which, in former days, must have been strikingly grand both in extent and architectural magnificence.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Pic-nic shooting parties—The "hall of ancestors" a half-way house — Tartar suspicion — Ramparts of Nanking — Crowded river—Chinese band of music—Life in China—Ludicrous sights at the approach of the British—The Porcelain Tower—Its architectural character and mode of construction — View from its summit—Chinese character—Visitors' specimens of the pagoda—General orders respecting its desecration.—Return to the camp.

As soon as it became known in the camp that so remarkable a sight existed near the walls of the city, and that accommodation was afforded in the spacious "hall of ancestors" for all who would carry their beds and breakfasts with them, the tombs of the Ming dynasty became a place of notable resort to hosts of curiosity-hunters, and as it was soon discovered that snipe abounded within a short distance of the inclosure, pic-nic shooting parties became the order of the day. It may be conceived with what interest and impatient expectation we viewed from the heights the far-famed Porcelain Tower, which, at the

desire of the plenipotentiary, we abstained from visiting until the final signing and sealing of the treaty had removed the last lingering doubt from his excellency's mind as to the sincerity of the Chinese in their professed desire for peace. The 29th August, therefore, had no sooner passed than large parties were made up to penetrate to the famed pagoda, the pride of the land of porcelain, renowned for so many generations in Chinese history.

The Chin-keang-foo ponies were put in almost hourly requisition, and fortunate was the man who could make interest with the officers of artillery, who had charge of those brought up the river to drag the guns, to obtain a "mount" upon the memorable occasion of a visit to the tower of Nanking. The "Hall of Ancestors" now became a sort of half-way house, and the produce of the morning's bag having furnished us with a substantial supper, the party to which the author was attached started at daybreak to explore the route, through the rich and diversified country which lay outstretched before us, to the goal of our hopes and imaginings.

After passing through the "Allée des Monstres," which the Tartar ponies could scarcely be

persuaded to approach, our cavalcade, accompanied by a retinue of men on foot, bearing provisions &c., wound by a difficult path around the walls of the Tartar city, and made for one of the gateways. The gates were open when we first came in sight, but no sooner was the approach of the "army" descried from the ramparts, than the people who had been lingering along the causeway by which we advanced were seen to hurry forward through the portal, the great doors were shut, and the bastion above was in an instant bristling with soldiers. We rode up to the gateway, to show them that we were bent on no hostile errand, and made use of all the signs and speeches of amity that we could recall to mind, but our new friends surveyed us with but little demonstration of a desire to reciprocate our amiable sentiments, and two or three malignant scowls, from fair moustached Tartar faces, which filled an embrasure above our heads, induced us to believe that the commissioners had had reason on their side, when they recommended to the plenipotentiary to direct his people to avoid the gates, and make no attempt to enter the city, lest some of the Tartar garrison, who had lost friends or relatives at the dread

storming of Chin-keang-foo, might be excited by the presence of their destroyers to commit some deed of vengeance and violence. We overcame their surliness, however, sufficiently to induce them to throw us down a piece of burning match to light our cigars, and then, leaving them our blessing, we followed the track along the ditch of the city, which appeared to lead in the direction of the tower.

Passing along under the walls of the Tartar quarter, we observed that the most active preparations had recently been in progress, even as we had suspected, up to the hour of our arrival, to resist the attack of a besieging force, and from the way in which they had cut away the earth wherever an undulation in the surface reduced the height of the walls by a few feet, it was evident that the escalade lesson at Chin-keang-foo had not been lost upon them, though the general who survived that day, in his report to the emperor of the loss of the city, described the "barbarians" as coming over the walls upon long sticks, in a manner which could not be understood, and which it was not possible to withstand. The appearance of the ramparts from the path, which we followed through fields and

plantations, at about half a mile distance, was strikingly picturesque; their great height and venerable hue, and the abrupt manner in which their lines projected, forming a feature of great beauty in the interesting landscape before us.

The garrison had evidently expected our attack at the very point where it would have been made; for we observed that the parapets along the whole line of the Tartar rampart had been repaired and strengthened with sand bags and earth, and that the buildings in the immediate neighbourhood which could have afforded cover to an assaulting column, had been pulled down. Yet at the Taiping gate, the most vulnerable point of their line, huts and trees had been suffered to remain, in numbers sufficient to screen a couple of companies of riflemen; so that it would appear that the Chinese cities, when menaced by an enemy, are left to the ingenuity of particular officers, whose genius can only be brought into play upon the defences of certain portions intrusted to each, while the adjoining parts may be neglected and exposed, through the ignorance of the chief to whose charge they may happen to have been confided. But so extensive a rampart as that of Nanking,

nearly twenty-two miles in circuit, could scarcely by any means be rendered inaccessible. The road at length brought us to the bank of a fine broad canal, which washed the Tartar ramparts, and appeared to throw out several large branches into the extensive suburb. We crossed this by a bridge of four arches, not made of flat slabs of granite, like almost all the bridges in the south, but well turned in cut-stone, in a style equal to the bridge across the Grand Canal at Chin-keang-foo.

After passing the bridge, a wide sheet of water spread out from the ramparts to a considerable distance to the eastward, and here, for the first time, we saw the Chinese truly "in their habit as they live;" the surface of the water was dotted in all directions with passage-boats, crowded with people proceeding to and from the country; with flower-boats, from which the sounds of that most extraordinary of all contrivances, a Chinese band of music, informed us of the noon-day revelry of their tenants, and with cargo-boats and junks of all sizes and denominations, except the war-junk, for of this class no vessel of any kind was ever seen in the Yang-tse-Kiang, except the miserable attempt at

a paddle-boat found at Woosung. At the landing-place for passengers by the ferry-boats, situated at the end of the main street of the suburb, we found life in China exhibited in all its originality and drollery. Strings of donkeys, to be hired for a few copper coins, crowded the street in one direction; wheelbarrows, of an extraordinary but useful build, plied for fares in another; itinerant barbers, with their small shaving apparatus on a stand, importuned for customers among the stools ranged along the sides of the street; while venders of confectionaries, prints, and chattels of all kinds, hawked their goods about and jostled each other in the roughest style of a busy English town, but at the same time with a degree of good humour and fun which would make our countrymen losers by the comparison.

The appearance of our party attracted a concourse of wondering spectators, but although they lined the street and narrowed the space through which we had to pass, incommoding us in our progress, not the least attempt was made to molest or annoy us in any way. The terror of the women at our appearance was the most ludicrous sight; for if a stray fair one chanced to emerge from a by-street or shop as we were

passing, she would turn and fly down the street as if we had personated the powers of darkness; and even the men, when they came upon us in the same sudden way, showed by the aghast expression of their faces that we presented to the Chinese a spectacle quite as wonderful as any which we sought amongst them.

Emerging from the suburb, the road led us again into the open country, which is laid out in pleasure-grounds and patches of cultivation, surrounding detached houses, and we saw in the distance several considerable villages, and many striking pagodas and minarets on the summits of the low hills which shut in the view in the direction of the Porcelain Tower, which was at last discovered by our impatient party, rearing its elegant head high above the surrounding joss-houses and buildings. We passed several large country houses on our way, like those of which we had become "tenants-at-will" at Makur-Keow, but the doors were all fastened, and the proprietors, if they still trusted themselves outside the ramparts of the city, gave no token of their presence.

The road now lay parallel to the lofty southern wall of the city, and after traversing another

narrow bustling street, a short turn to the left brought us into a large inclosure flanked by a handsome edifice, into which access was gained by several large flights of steps.

Here we dismounted, and ascending the platform, passed through the building, and stood at last under the Porcelain Tower of Nanking. So many different conceptions have been formed of its style and architectural character, that the impression, created by a first view, in the minds of the spectators, must have varied according to the anticipations which each had conjured up; hence descriptions of its beauties by different narrators scarcely agree in more than one point —that the tower, in all respects, in position, form, material, and decoration, is essentially Chinese, forming a monument so truly typical of the style of architecture which has so long distinguished them from all other nations, as to be well worthy of the high consideration in which it is held by the natives, and of the place assigned to it in the annals of this portion of the globe.

Disappointed as I had been with many sights and scenes in China, whose beauty and rarity had been dwelt upon in such glowing terms by former travellers, here I felt that my most vivid and

highly-wrought imaginings were far transcended by the superb reality. The tower stands in the centre of an elevated quadrangle, whose inclosing walls are formed by the front elevations of several large temples and halls, raised upon a basement story, representing its pedestal, from which it rises to the height of nearly 200 feet, in nine elegantly and justly proportioned stories, constructed in an octagonal form. The principal material is porcelain; for, although it is only used to make an outer casing and an inner lining to the walls, it still forms the chief constituent of the fabric, and is the only substance which meets the eye. The central mass of the walls is common clay bricks, set in mortar; the porcelain, in the form of a plinth of pure white, glazed on the outer surface, and of the regular standard dimensions, but with a deep key or shoulder cast on its edge, to maintain its hold in the wall, is built in on the outer and inner faces of the edifice, so as to form an entire casing, and to exclude from view the inferior material. On the platform of each story, there are four doors, corresponding with the alternate octagonal faces, opening upon a terrace, which runs round the tower, bordered by an elegant balustrade of

green porcelain, fancifully diversified with figures of different hues, and paved with flat square tiles. The doorways are set in a frame of glazed tiles, brown, red, green, and yellow, according to the figures or plants represented; and although, perhaps, grotesque and striking, rather than tasteful or pleasing, on a close inspection, they contribute much to the beauty of the *tout ensemble*. Overhead, the doorways are finished by a gothic arch of moulded tiles, set in large masses, each weighing thirty pounds and upwards; and a short roof of the same material, brilliantly glazed and coloured yellow, projects over the summit of each story, terminating at the angles with that peculiar upward curve, which characterizes the roofing of all Chinese edifices, and having on their extreme points a bell of about eight inches in height, and six in diameter, suspended by a twisted wire. On each of the eight faces there is also a lantern suspended, made of thin laminæ of oyster-shell, set in a light wooden frame, which, according to our informants, is illuminated on gala occasions by the priests who have charge of the pagoda, producing an effect which we could well imagine must be most brilliant and extraordinary. On the highest story of all,

is placed a lofty cowl or pyramidal structure of tiles and wood-work, terminating in a richly gilt pine-apple, which has been pronounced by many writers, deceived by its beauty, to be solid gold. Long chains of brass, ornamented with numerous balls, descend from this crowning decoration down to the roof, passing through a number of concentric rings of metal, which are carried round and round the apex of the pagoda in a singularly fantastic manner. The building is strengthened by a gigantic spar or tree, which passes, as far as we could ascertain, down a considerable portion of the centre, in one entire piece, receiving, in a mortise at the foot of each of the nine stories, a set of stout radiating frames, which support the floor and staircase, and add strength to the adjacent walls. The wood-work has the appearance of great age, but no material decay or failing is visible in any part of it, nor in the body of the work itself, although, from the lines of new cement here and there in the outer and inner facings of both porcelain and brick and glazed tiles, we were led to suppose that repairs are continually going on.

The view from the summit was extensive and interesting in the extreme, commanding the

whole circuit of the walls of Nanking, from the Lion Hill, at the water's edge, abreast of which the Cornwallis and Blonde were anchored, to the south gate, opposite to which, at about 300 yards' distance, on the suburb side of the ditch, the celebrated tower is situated.

The appearance of the city, however, was somewhat disappointing,—fully four-fifths of the space inclosed by the ramparts revealing to us only a tract of cultivated land, instead of the teeming mass of buildings which we had been led to expect. The principal quarter of the town, that at least which contains the greatest number of houses, is the south-western, contiguous to the gate facing the Porcelain Tower, and from this point it extends in streets and scattered groups of buildings towards the Tartar city and Lion Hill.

To judge by the number of tents along the walls, and encampments in various parts of the city, the numerical strength of the garrison must have been very great; but, from former experience and knowledge of the ruse to which the Chinese often resort, that of erecting empty tents, and lines of sham batteries and intrenchments of mats, in commanding positions, we set

down fully one-half of the canvas barracks which met our view, as of the buckram-suit class.

One or two handsome edifices were discerned in the middle of the city, especially one, the roof of which, covered with imperial yellow tiles, appeared perfectly enormous, extending in length, as far as we could judge, more than 300 yards, with a span fully fifty. It was raised upon a high platform, ascended by long flights of steps, and surrounded by a broad canal, over which several considerable bridges were thrown; and, from the wide space left clear of buildings all round it, we concluded that it was the imperial palace, or principal edifice of the ancient capital.

Except barracks, few public buildings could be seen in the Tartar city, save in the inner fort a walled inclosure, wherein several ancient looking buildings, probably the relics of the palaces of the Ming emperors, appeared to be preserved as residences for high officers.

The total stillness was painfully striking, as we looked down over the wide expanse of dingy roofs and narrow streets and canals of the vast city. Not a sound arose from its closely crowded houses; and from the absence of the busy hum, which we had naturally expected to hear from its po-

pulous thoroughfares, one might have supposed that its only living tenants were the soldiers who had scowled upon us from the walls, and the ponies which we saw in droves careering along its grassy plains. It seems probable, indeed, that a great majority of the inhabitants had quitted their abodes for a more secure retreat in the interior of the province, before our arrival under the walls, warned by the fate of Chin-keang-foo, that the courage of their Tartar defenders and the strength of their most esteemed fortresses could no longer avert the destruction which menaced them.

After sating ourselves with gazing at the splendid panorama, of whose beauty I have not the power to convey anything like an adequate idea, we descended the tower, and making our way with difficulty through the dense mass of people who crowded the wide arena, and blocked up every avenue by which it was approached, we got into the main street of the suburb, and walked up to the gates, which we found fast closed. As we wandered about its streets and lanes, which were of a very poor and mean description, we were struck with the free and easy, and at the same time happy readiness with which

PORCELAIN TOWER, NANKING.

the Chinese adapt themselves to the circumstances of the hour, and lose, in the engrossing cares of their own busy life, all interest and curiosity about the novelties which chance may obtrude upon its even course.

After they had stared at us for an hour, as we stood in the most favourable position for exhibition on the balconies of the Porcelain Tower, and had ascertained that we bore no resemblance to the horrible images with which the name of the "barbarians" had been associated in their minds, the inhabitants of the suburb returned at once to their peaceful occupations, and where, a few hours before, we had found only a deserted street, with shops half or wholly closed, we now beheld life and activity in every rood of its length, its pavement crowded with bustling artisans and traders, and its workshops resounding with the clatter and hum of industry and business. We made many zealous efforts to pick up mementoes of our visit to the memorable tower, but beyond a few tea-pots, of a very common description, of brown-coloured earthenware, and some fans, we met with but little success, all articles of any value having been removed from the shops to some more secure retreat. In the neighbour-

hood of the tower, however, our party was more successful ; many invaluable specimens of its materials were obtained,—some, I blush to record, extracted from the sacred fane itself, and some purchased, on quitting it, from the priests in the lower story.

About eight or ten days after the first visit to the tower, when the majority of the sight-seers of the expedition had completed the pilgrimage to its shrine, the "Abbot of the Monastery" (as we had styled him) came on board the Queen, to make a representation to the plenipotentiary, that ruthless men, armed with mattock and crow, were destroying the pagoda, and not satisfied with the small specimens which the earlier visitors had brought away, were carrying off boat-loads of tiles, so that the greater part of the upper story had already disappeared.

Vexed that such an outrage should have been perpetrated, especially at a time when the utmost forbearance should have been exercised towards the people we had humbled, and with reference to a monument so valued by them, Sir Henry Pottinger, yielding to the impulse of the moment, wrote an angry letter to the two commanders-in-chief, calling upon them to exert

their authority to put a stop to proceedings so much at variance with the character which the British forces should by every means have striven to establish.

In consequence of this, the Vixen steamer, which lay at anchor in the mouth of the creek, by which the south-western angle of the city was approached from the river, received strict orders to allow no boats whatever to pass which did not bear a permit, signed by the admiral, which orders were so rigidly obeyed, that on several occasions parties of officers were turned back who had provided themselves with passes from the general only, and these then made a detour by land round the city, through Lord Saltoun's village, a journey of fully fifteen miles, returning by the creek in some Chinese boats.

The writer did not again visit the tower, but he was told by others who inspected it a few days after the publication of Sir Henry's letter, that the extent of the damage done to the upper story was by no means so great as had been described by the "abbot," and that it admitted at all events of easy and speedy repair. It is an undeniable fact, that on our first visit to

the tower, the bonzes, or priests, soothed by the dollars which were pressed into their not unwilling hands, viewed with complacency the small chippings (then made only in obscure places, such as behind the staircase leading from story to story) which were carried on inside the building, while they openly dealt in pictures of the edifice, and in specimens of the yellow and red glazed tiles used in its construction; and it is therefore fair to suppose, that when they found the amount of largesse diminish, after the visits of the richer portion of the foreigners, to an amount which made it no longer worth their while to run the risk of odium among their own people, for having connived at the "desecration," they came forward with their complaint in so public a manner, solely with a view to screen their conduct from the Nanking authorities.

A short time before the force broke up from before Nanking, the commander-in-chief strongly animadverted in general orders on "the desecration of the Porcelain Pagoda by some person or persons unknown."

Our guest, Captain C——, of the French frigate, of whom mention has been already made, had directed his pinnace to await orders

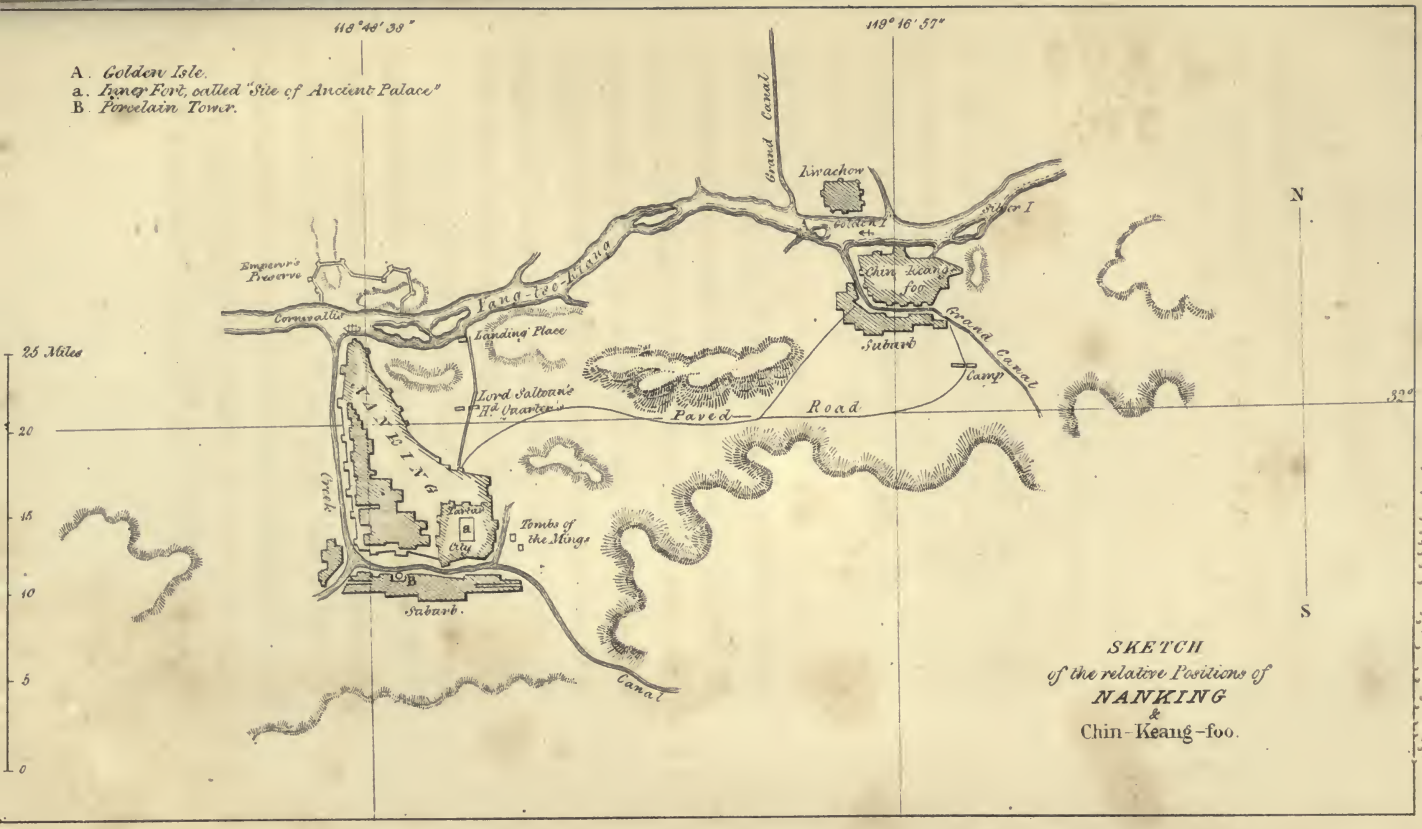
at the landing-place near the tower, and several of us joined the agreeable Frenchman, giving up our ponies to others of the party, but before it broke up we assembled round a board, spread in an adjoining building, and partook of a repast, served *à la minute* by our Indian attendants, in a manner which can only be understood by those who have witnessed the skill of these people in furnishing dishes out of the most scanty materials.

The voyage down the creek was exceedingly interesting, as it completed an entire circuit of the city walls, and displayed some very picturesque scenery. The stream passes close to the ramparts the whole way, and the water is deep throughout, having three stone bridges of five and four well turned arches, admitting the passage of the largest ships' boats. The walls bore marks of recent repair all along the line by which we passed, and one gateway, unfavourably situated for defence, had been built up with masonry evidently within a few weeks.

A walk of an hour from "Point Turn-again" (near the Vixen) brought us once more to the camp, completing the tour of the environs of the ancient city, the most interesting excursion

made during all the operations in China. Before the official announcement of the overtures for peace, we had been obliged to resort to foraging parties, on account of the scarcity of fresh provisions: we were thus led to explore the country between Nanking and Chin-keang-foo, which are twenty-eight miles apart, and found that, for a very considerable distance, there was a good paved-road,—running from Nanking due east,—which was perfectly practicable for guns and military carriages. At a distance, of about five or six miles from the Taiping gate, we discovered the commencement of the clay-slate, a regular killas, splintery and much altered at the spot by contact with a dyke of hornstone, which formed the backbone of a neighbouring ridge, but readily recognised at a short distance beyond. The scenery was generally very beautiful, and our exertions to procure provender were usually crowned with success.

Near the Taiping angle of the walls are some remains of statues of the same grotesque character as the sculptured images of the "Allée des Monstres," but of inferior workmanship, and cut out of blocks of granite instead of limestone.



SKETCH
of the relative Positions of
NANKING
&
Chin-Keang-foo.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Moschetoes—Sufferings of the 98th regiment—"The Emperor's Preserve"—Desolation of Chin-keang-foo—Curious Chinese monuments—A cast-iron pagoda—Highly embellished volumes—Chusan harbours—Roman-catholic missionaries—The fleet proceeds to Hong-Kong—New port opened.

The weather about this time was often excruciatingly hot, and the moschetoes were exceedingly troublesome, insomuch that the troops, to whom this sort of life was comparatively new, began to sink under it. in particular, the 98th regiment, who had never recovered from the effects of their exposure to the sun at Chin-keang-foo, and who had been landed and put into uncomfortable quarters on the bank of the lower creek, suffered severely, and before their re-embarkation on board the Belleisle, fully six-sevenths of the regiment were either dead or unfit for any duty whatever.

The Belleisle was the first ship ordered to

drop down the river, and she finally quitted the Yang-tse-Kiang on the 10th October, up to which date the 98th had lost by death 160 men, and had in hospital 430, of whom 100 had followed their hapless comrades before the close of the year. This unfortunate regiment had suffered much on their voyage from England in the Belleisle, (an old seventy-four, converted into a troop ship,) from the heat and confinement of the orlop deck, as they mustered 720, with sixty artillerymen, stores, guns, arms, provisions, &c. and 100 women and children. The latter were left at Hong-Kong when the expedition proceeded to the north; but the spectacle presented on board the Belleisle, in the Yang-tse-Kiang, was one of great misery, and it seems a great price to pay for the convenience of transporting so large a body of men in a single bottom.

The guns and 98th regiment were moved off first, and having been got safely away, the remainder of the infantry were marched down to the landing-place on the bank of the creek, but the iron steamers were not in readiness for our embarkation, and much confusion ensued. We were obliged to bivouac for the night on the sides of the road, leaving the baggage in the

centre, and on the following morning the steamers made their appearance, and the entire brigade was embarked before dusk.

The Belleisle, in tow of a steamer, was immediately sent down the river, in order to remove her unfortunate occupants as fast as possible from the baneful influence of the temperature; but the greater number of the transports did not quit the anchorage for several days after the re-embarkation, and the Chinese took advantage of our detention to bring alongside the vessels boat-loads of rubbish, such as old blue jars and tea-pots, for sale as curiosities, it must be confessed with great success.

A few excursions were made to the opposite bank of the river in search of game, at a place called "The Emperor's Preserve," which is a space inclosed by a fortified wall, to the water's edge, giving the idea of an ancient point of defence to the passage of the river, but a few quails and magpies were all that rewarded our efforts; the ramble, however, was interesting and agreeable.

On the 20th September, almost all the transports having started in divisions, by signal, we began to guess our way down the Yang-tse-

kiang; but so difficult was the task, that we did not accomplish more than twenty to twenty-five miles on any single day. At length, however, we all got into Chusan harbour, without greater damage than loss of jib-booms, running rigging by getting foul of each other, and of anchors, cables, and hawsers, by getting aground.

On our way down the river, we anchored off Chin-keang-foo for a couple of days, and paid a visit to the scene of the exploits of the 21st July. A small Tartar garrison had been put into the city, to restore something like order amidst the hideous mass of crumbling ruins which we had left it, and of which we found that General Schoedde's brigade, in occupation of the heights, had taken no notice, further than by occasionally marching a company through the breach to make the circuit of the ramparts.

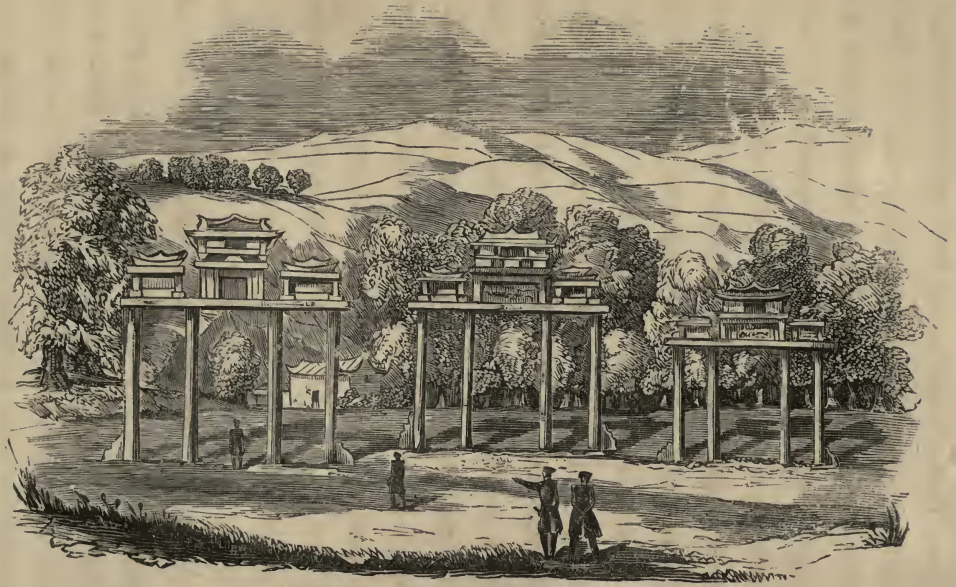
The desolate appearance of this unfortunate city was painfully striking. The most profound silence prevailed throughout its entire extent of shapeless buildings and deserted streets; and the principal dwelling-houses, which had been nearly gutted before our departure, now lacked roofs, doors, and windows; for the Chinese plunderers, after having thoroughly gleaned the wreck of spoil,

from end to end of the city, had contrived to carry off large quantities of the available timber from the houses. The hungry dogs, too, had been disturbing the graves of the slain, and dragging forth the corpses, which now presented objects too revolting for description. In other places, outside the walls, where Chinese soldiers had been buried, we found that the natives themselves had performed the loathsome office of exhumation, removing the bodies in coffins into the interior, of course without molestation from our people, one of whom told us that it was difficult to conceive how those whom they delighted to honour could be distinguished from the humble matchlock-men, as decomposition had proceeded so far that the corpses were removed piecemeal.

Returning from our ramble, a friend, who had been with the occupying force, led us a short detour into the country, to see some exceedingly curious monuments which stood on a gently-rising ground by the side of a village road, and which had either been recently erected or renovated since the destroying visit of the British force: their form was very peculiar and picturesque, without much elegance. They were com-

posed of two high shafts of stone, placed like the jambs of a tall door, and united at the top by a cross piece, into which was let a small slab of a most beautiful cerulean blue, in the field of which was an inscription in letters inlaid with gold. Several grotesque ornaments in stone were appended to the bases and capitals of the pillars supporting this entablature, and numerous other slabs were introduced between them in a manner difficult to describe.

On the heights east of the town is a venerable old joss-house, built in a style differing a good deal from that which is observed in their more modern temples. It has long, monastic-looking corridors or cloisters, and contains a number of monuments and ancient relics, well worthy of inspection. Among these was a pagoda of nine stories, formed of cast iron, a miniature, of course, of one of the regular religious edifices, but not by any means a small one, having a height of about twenty-five feet, and a girth of sixteen to eighteen feet at the base. It had been cast in segments, like the column in the Place Vendôme, each forming a story of the building, the figure being octagonal, with well-turned gothic-looking arches on each face. The wood-



MONUMENTS NEAR CHIN-KEANG-FOO.

work was entirely destroyed, and the metal much defaced by time. This tower may be accounted one of the many proofs seen, during the progress of the expedition, of the very early knowledge which the Chinese possessed of the art of casting iron. There had been an intention of sending this iron pagoda to England as a trophy, and a scaffolding of strong spars had actually been commenced for its removal, but the peace put a stop to the proceeding, and also prevented the dismemberment of the library on Golden Island, —a prize which was intended for the recesses of the British Museum.

A friend of the author's, on his way down the river, repeated his visit to the "emperor's chair," and was rewarded for his ardour by a sight of the curious volumes which accident had brought to light, and which he described as of extreme interest, and in many cases splendidly embellished and decorated. One principal work appeared to contain a history of the Chinese empire, from the remotest antiquity, every page having a large drawing, executed in beautiful colours, with great delicacy of outline, on a ground of deep cerulean blue: battle-pieces between races of gigantic form and antediluvian costume, cere-

monials before divinities of decidedly Plutonic origin, performed by mortals still more uncouth, triumphs, executions, and other public memorabilia were interspersed throughout these curious volumes; and my informant said, that the wonders displayed in their pages appeared to impress as much astonishment upon the minds of the Chinese themselves, a party of whom had taken advantage of his visit to make their way into the library, as they created interest in his own.

When we reached Chusan, we found both the harbours crowded with shipping; men-of-war steamers, transports, coal and store ships from England, laden with provisions, medicines, warm clothing, ammunition, ordnance, shot and shells, with everything, in fact, which could be required during another year's severe campaigning, swarmed over the face of the waters; and, including the few ships which yet remained in the Yang-tse-Kiang, there could not at this time have been fewer than 150 sail of vessels, either the property or in the pay of the government. A goodly array of opium clippers occupied the inner tier off the suburb of Ting-hae, busily

plying the much abused trade in the drug, which here found a ready sale, the Chinese shipping it over in large quantities to the main land, in boats, running their cargoes with perfect impunity, as the power of the mandarins had for some time been in complete abeyance.

On their way to Chusan, Sir Henry Pottinger, the admiral, and the general, proceeded in steamers up the Woosung river to Shang-hae, which they found wonderfully restored, and exhibiting a scene of great industry and activity. While lying off the town in the "Queen," the plenipotentiary received a visit from a Roman-catholic priest, who bears the high-sounding title of "Archbishop of Nanking." He is a Frenchman, and reputed for mental attainments and for enthusiasm in his calling. He came, under cover of the darkness, at ten o'clock at night, in the dress of a Chinaman, with a long tail, &c., and remained closeted with the plenipotentiary for a considerable time. His ordinary place of abode is Nanking, but the signs of the times had induced him to remove to the neighbourhood of Shang-hae, where there was, we understood, a large community of native Christians, and where

the proximity of the coast, and the presence of a squadron of the British fleet, afforded him readier means of escape, in case of need.

About the time of the entrance of the Yang-tse-Kiang by the expedition, a number of Catholic missionaries took advantage of the general confusion, and of the temporary dispersal of the mandarins, to follow in our wake, and effect a landing on the banks of the river, for the purpose of penetrating, in the disguise of Chinese, (being accompanied and directed by native converts, brought up in the institution of the Propaganda,) into the heart of the empire, to carry out those projects, and fulfil those sacred vows, upon which their lives are so devotedly staked, and so often sacrificed.

On the 12th and 14th October, the fleet of transports got under weigh, in two divisions, and proceeded with the commander-in-chief to Hong-Kong, the admiral remaining with the Cornwallis and a squadron of men-of-war and steamers, after having dispatched the Blonde, Herald, Modeste, and Columbine to England with the six millions of dollars which had been paid in the Yang-tse-Kiang. The plenipotentiary in the meantime proceeded in the Queen steamer,

CHINESE TOMB AT CHUSAN.

attended by the Proserpine, in the direction of Foo-chow-foo, with the intention of inspecting the localities of the new port about to be opened to British enterprise, and proceeding thence to Amoy, *en route* to Hong-Kong.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Captives of the Nerbudda and the Anne—Massacre at Formosa—Proclamation issued by Sir Henry Pottinger—He demands satisfaction—Extraordinary narrative of a Swede—His escape from death—Indignant feelings of the British—The emperor's edict—Communication made to the plenipotentiary—His dignified reply.

Owing to some unexpected dangers which beset the mouth of the Min river, by which the port of Foo-chow-foo is approached, the projected visit of the steamers was not paid, and Sir Henry Pottinger, abandoning the design for the present, steered for Amoy, where intelligence of a melancholy nature awaited his arrival. This related to the fate of the unfortunate natives of India who had been abandoned in the Nerbudda, and of that of the crew of the Anne, a merchant brig, coming from Chusan with specie, (in return for opium,) which had been wrecked upon the north point of Formosa, and whose captain, Denham, finding it impossible to float her again,

and that he could not prevail upon any of the junks in the vicinity to take himself and his ship's company over to Amoy, was reduced to the necessity of surrendering at discretion to the armed force, which was sent down to the coast to seize the shipwrecked and helpless victims. The events which succeeded their capture are so extraordinary, and their treatment so entirely at variance with the principles by which the Chinese profess to be guided in all cases of distress produced by the act of God, in accordance with whose dictates they are constrained to cherish and succour their bitterest enemy, when cast away upon their coasts, and so harrowing, from its cold-blooded atrocity, that the mind cannot be brought without difficulty to credit and realize the scenes presented by its blood-stained record.

The whole of the captives had been butchered, except about six Europeans and three natives of India, who were reserved for a fate still more cruel. All, whether sailors, camp followers, or passengers, unconnected with the hostile discussion waging between the two nations, or inoffensive artisans of the ship, had been foully and barbarously put to death. The particulars of the

fearful tragedy were first made known at Hong-Kong, through a proclamation published on the occasion by Sir Henry Pottinger, and a separate proclamation was at the same time specially addressed to the Chinese, pointing out to them the striking contrast between the conduct of their own and of the British government, under like circumstances; the latter having invariably liberated their captives, after exhibiting towards them every token of kindness, and every indication of a desire to treat them as friends, as soon as the chances of war had put it out of their power to become active enemies.

The plenipotentiary acquainted them, in this address, that, for the barbarous outrage at Formosa, he had demanded from the emperor the fullest and most ample satisfaction which it was yet in his power to render; requiring that the authors of the base and false statement, through which his imperial majesty had been induced to sanction the execution of the helpless victims of the Nerbudda and the Anne, should be forthwith "condignly punished," their lands and personal property confiscated, and the proceeds made over to the British government, for the use of the families of the unhappy men who had fallen.

With all this concession, his excellency added, he was not prepared to say that the result, to which the deplorable event tended, might not be far more serious than was at present contemplated, extending even to a renewal of those hostilities which had recently been brought to so auspicious and welcome a conclusion; for the circumstances of the case bore the stamp of atrocity and barbarity, in a form so repugnant to the feelings of a civilized people, that it was impossible to predict the consequences which might follow the announcement in Great Britain of the horrid event, whose record had so disgraced the annals of the Chinese empire.

The tale of the Formosa massacre had been related to the plenipotentiary at Amoy, by the survivors, who had been sent over to the British squadron lying there in October, after intelligence of the treaty of Nanking had been authentically communicated from Peking. Extracts from the journals of Captain Denham, of the Anne, appeared afterwards in the Macao newspapers, and as they embraced all the events of his dreary captivity, they may be here briefly narrated, as they were described by one of his crew, a Swede, whose escape in For-

mosa from the very jaws of death was all but miraculous.

This man had been seized with the rest of the crew of the Anne, and carried to the capital of the island, where they were all thrust into the same prison, in which, to their surprise, they found nearly 300 natives of India, the surviving lascars and passengers of the Nerbudda, confined in cells, containing from fifteen to thirty each. There they were subjected to the most rigorous and cruel treatment, supplied with no covering to protect them from the cold, in lieu of their own clothes, which had been stripped from their backs when they were seized, except some common Chinese dungaree jackets and trowsers, often beaten severely with the bamboo, and for their daily subsistence allowed only a small string of copper coins, of which a thousand equal a dollar only, with which they had to purchase their wretched food, from venders of rice and vegetables, who were suffered to enter the prison yard once a day for the purpose. Mr. Gully, son of the former M.P. for Pontefract, who had come down from Chusan a passenger in the Anne, was, from his commanding height and fine muscular proportions, selected by the

Chinese, as a military mandarin of consequence; and, whether to gratify the malice of the Tartar general, who ruled as viceroy in Formosa, or to prevent the escape of their most distinguished captive, they treated that unfortunate gentleman with peculiar harshness and cruelty. Captain Denham, himself, was more than once severely bambooed, upon the occasion of an absurd and groundless suspicion that he was plotting an escape from prison; this cruel punishment was inflicted with such barbarity that fragments of flesh were cut away from his thighs at every blow of the bamboo. The miserable Indians of the Nerbudda, upon whom the severity of the winter fell with the most cruel effect, from their being entirely unaccustomed to a cold climate, against which they had not even a warm garment to protect their attenuated frames, suffered most awfully, and many of course sank beneath the accumulation of hardships heaped upon them. It was the fortune of war that they should so perish, and it is unavailing now to deplore the miserable fate which befel nearly every one of them, but it will appear a peculiarly hard and cruel one, when it is remembered that these unfortunates had been brought out from their

native country, not as regularly enlisted fighting men, bound to obey the call of duty, whithersoever the summons bade them hasten, but poor washers, sweepers, hospital-assistants, and palanquin-bearers, tempted by the high wages offered them, and induced to accept the proposals of their government, through their ignorance of the climate and peculiarities of the country they were to serve in, and through their unbounded confidence in the ability and inclination of their employers to protect them against all misfortune and oppression within human control.

The narrative of the Swede proceeded to say that things went on in the same weary way, diversified occasionally by visits from mandarins, and by examinations, through a linguist, of the European and principal Indian prisoners, until, as well as he could reckon, about the 10th or 12th August, when one morning, at the hour for the distribution of their daily pittance, the gaoler entered their cells, accompanied by two or three police soldiers, bearing a bundle of small paper labels, on which was inscribed a word in the Chinese character, and proceeded, after issuing the copper coins, to paste one of them upon each man's dress ; they then left the cells, and shortly afterwards the prisoners were let out

into the court-yard, to purchase food for the day. The Swede, having had his suspicions excited by the novel ordeal of the tickets, descried, in a distant part of the yard, a long line of bamboo chairs, with carrying poles, ranged along the wall, and near them a number of soldiers and coolies. His mind misgave him, he says, when he saw this, and, impressed with a vague presentiment of impending calamity, he fortified himself against its shock upon the Dutch principle, and accordingly spent the whole of his day's allowance upon a large dram of samshoo, which he drank off at a draught. After their morning meal was finished, a party of soldiers, entering their cells with the gaoler, led them forth in detachments, and seated them on the chairs, after apparently ascertaining that the designation on the label upon each dress corresponded with a similar ticket attached to the chairs. The whole of the captives of the Nerbudda and Anne were thus disposed of, except Captain Denham, Mr. Rolfe, the chief mate of the latter vessel, and four seamen and one lascar, with the Serang and tindal* of the Nerbudda, who were locked up in a separate cell, while

* The Serang is a sort of boatswain among a lascar crew, and the tindal is next to him in authority.

their hapless companions, after being marshalled by their guards in the order of a procession, were raised in their chairs upon the shoulders of the coolies, and carried through the gates of the town into the open country, attended by a strong posse of soldiers, with executioners and others, bearing placards and instruments of punishment. After proceeding a distance of two or three miles, they came in sight of a place inclosed and surrounded by a vast concourse of Chinese, from the midst of which the clangour of drums and gongs announced that the meeting had for its object some grand ceremonial. But little time, however, was given for speculation upon the fate which awaited them, for the chairs having been set down in a row outside the mob of spectators, the three or four who came first in the line were taken from their seats, their wrists, which had been bound together before them, set free, to enable the executioners to pinion their victims by the shoulders behind their backs, and in this condition they were hurried through the gazing and excited multitude, which with loud shouts opened to give them passage into the arena beyond, where the closing ranks of the mob shut them out from the anxious gaze of their com-

rades outside. After a short delay, the guards issued again from the inclosure, and bore away another party of captives, and it soon became evident, from the gonging which was set up on the appearance of every fresh band of victims, from the excited gestures of the spectators, and from the blood-bespattered garments of the soldiers who escorted them, that a scene of ruthless slaughter was enacting in the midst of the concourse of savages, whose shouts of exultation and mockery struck terror and dismay into the hearts of the wretched survivors. Section by section they gradually disappeared, until, out of the whole 300, the Swede with three natives of India alone remained; and when at length the guards returned for these, the Swede abandoned all hope, and resigned himself to his fate. The soldiers untied their cords, and then commenced trussing them for their horrid butchery, but the poor Indians, who had witnessed in agony the abduction of their fated comrades to the dread inclosure, whence none had returned, resisted the efforts of the executioners in the most strenuous manner, throwing themselves upon the ground, and filling the air with their lamentations and cries for mercy. The Swede, on seeing this, spoke to

them in their own language, and exhorted them to submit to the will of their murderers, pointing out to them that the probable consequence of their resistance would be that they would be hacked to pieces instead of "dying genteelly," as he expressed it; and approaching them, with the consent of his guards, he managed, partly by persuasion and partly by force, to get them bound: at that moment he himself stood unfettered, and the thought flashed across his mind that the opportunity was propitious for making one desperate effort for life.

It appears that the man possessed considerable skill as a tumbler, and labouring still under the excitement of the samshoo, and of the desperate circumstances in which he stood, he burst from the soldiers, bounded through the throng of spectators, and stood in the inclosure a free man. A hasty glance showed him that at one end, upon an elevated platform, there was seated a great mandarin, who had evidently been presiding over the scene of blood; he accordingly ran towards him, and throwing a summerset upon his hands, alighted at the footstool of the chief, and stood upon his head before him. He then prostrated himself at his feet, and uttered loudly all the

honorific and laudatory Chinese words which he could call to mind, and by signs and exclamations exhorted the mandarin to spare him. What happened after this he but indistinctly remembered, but the result of his singular feat was, that the mandarin, whether sated by the blood on which he had gorged his senses during the long hours of this horrible massacre, or struck with compassion for the Swede, ordered him to be removed from the inclosure, and when the man recovered the use of his understanding again, he found himself once more alone in his cell.

The intention of the Formosa authorities, it was supposed, had been to send the captives reserved from execution over to the main-land, either for public exhibition at Hang-chow-foo or at Peking, or else to subject them to a more ignominious or lingering death by torture: their gaolers indeed gave them to understand that it was with this object their lives had been spared; and upon being asked why Mr. Gully had not been set apart in the same manner, they answered by repeated questions about his rank and position in his own country, and showed an anxiety to be assured that he was the son of a great mandarin.

Intelligence of the conclusion of the treaty of Nanking reached Formosa authentically in October, and to the surprise of Captain Denham and his companions, the Swede, whom they had numbered amongst the slain, was one morning thrust into the cell which they occupied, and from which they were shortly afterwards withdrawn to be put on board a junk for conveyance to Amoy. They did not, however, reach that port for some time, as the junk took them, in the first place, to a desolate island in the Strait of Formosa, where they remained several weeks, owing, as it seemed, to the dread the Chinese sailors had of venturing in the presence of the British squadron, and when at length they made their appearance on board the frigate commanded by Captain Chads, they were in a state of such misery and destitution, as to excite the compassion of all who beheld them, and to arouse their indignation against the merciless tyrants under whose cruel yoke they had suffered such an accumulation of ills. It may be conceived how intense was the feeling excited amongst the force and the British community generally, by the recital of this sad history; indeed, we could not avoid a regret, however unavailing, that a por-

tion of the force had not been directed to touch at Formosa, on its way to the north in June and July, and obtain the release of the captives by force. It was generally believed that this inhuman massacre had been sanctioned by the cabinet of Peking, under feelings of revenge and animosity which the accounts of the slaughter of the Tartars at Chapoo had excited among the chiefs of their proud and vindictive race, aided by the assurances of the viceroy of Formosa, Takungah, a Tartar general, that the captives had been taken in a hostile attempt against the island.

On receiving the startling and vehement address of Sir Henry Pottinger on this gloomy subject, the emperor at once issued an edict, commanding Eliang, the governor-general of the Fokien and Che-Keang provinces, to cross immediately over to Formosa, to make secret inquiries for the purpose of ascertaining whether the foreigners who had been put to death by Takungah were really "people in distress," of which the edict stated there could be no doubt that proof would be elicited during the investigation; and if this should be established, that the great emperor, to show the entire impar-

CHAPTER XL.

Improved appearance of Hong-Kong — Riot at Canton — British factory destroyed — Some of the rioters shot — Popular excitement against the British — Visit of Sir Hugh Gough—Erection of public buildings at Hong-Kong—Lord Saltoun left in command of the forces in China—Final departure.

The whole military force, excepting the brigade left in occupation of Chusan, was assembled in the bay of Hong-Kong about the 18th November, but owing to delays for indispensable arrangements, the fleet of transports did not put to sea until the 20th December. It was interesting to observe the great change which had taken place in the appearance of the island, which, from a barren rock with a few poor huts of straw and leaves, had now become a thriving and populous colony, overspread with substantial houses, and adorned by forts, batteries, and public buildings. During our detention, orders were received from the commander-in-chief to

hold in readiness a force to move up the river, to repress a popular outbreak of a serious nature in Canton. This commotion was attributed, in the first instance, to the visits made to Canton by several English ladies, the wives of commanders of merchant-ships lying at Whampoa, soon after the publication of the treaty, by whose provisions it was conceived that the safety of women and children resident in the city had been guaranteed for the future; but this impression was evidently erroneous, for the riot, though immediately brought about by a quarrel in Hog-lane, adjacent to the foreign factories, between some lascars and a Chinese mob, was unquestionably fomented and maintained by other parties, under feelings of bitter animosity, both political and of a private and personal nature, against the English.

After an insignificant fight in the streets, the lascars were worsted, and retired before the mass of their opponents into the factories, where they found shelter within one of the hongs, the doors of all of them having been closed as soon as the coming storm was perceived. The square in front of the merchants' residences was immediately taken possession of by a dense mob, who

straightway proceeded to acts of the most determined violence, commencing by the deliberate destruction of the British flag-staff, round which they piled fagots and burnt it to the ground. The same indignity was not shown to any of the other flags, and as soon as this feat had been achieved, the mob poured into the British factory, and after breaking to pieces all the furniture and decorations, set fire to and destroyed it, involving in its destruction several contiguous private dwellings, from which the inhabitants escaped by back passages with the greatest difficulty. Several ladies got out under cover of the darkness, and sought shelter in the hong of an old Chinese merchant, Ming-qua by name, whose gallant behaviour to the distressed fair ones earned for him their warmest gratitude.

The populace next attacked several other hongs, but were foiled in every attempt to force the gates; and at one of the hongs, tenanted by a Mr. Heard, they were received with so warm a fire from fowling-pieces and pistols, that five of their number were left dead on the threshold. When day dawned, a detachment of Chinese soldiers marched down from the city, headed by

some mandarins, and attempted to drive the mob out of the inclosure, but their efforts were laughed at, and although they at length fired some volleys from their matchlocks upon the rioters, no impression was made upon them, and the troops were compelled to retire. During the day, however, the concourse of people gradually melted away, and on the following morning the factories were comparatively deserted, so that the troops, when again brought down, took possession of the inclosure without resistance, and pitching some tents in the open space, mounted strong guards upon every point of approach.

The popular excitement, however, still continued throughout the city, and meetings of a riotous character were held in the principal halls, at which inflammatory addresses were read, and seditious proposals made, while at the same time placards were posted in the streets, calling upon the loyal citizens to unite together to oppose the encroachments of the "foreign devils," whose aim was to get possession of additional land on the banks of the river, to erect houses on, and who, if thus permitted to make

so insidious a beginning, would shortly act as they had done in all other parts of the world, and by degrees root out the original possessors of the soil.

A day or two after the conflagration of the factories, Sir Hugh Gough came up to Canton in one of the iron steamers, on a visit to some of the merchants, and a representation was made to him of the dangers to which the British residents were exposed, from the lawless state in which the mobocracy of the city continued, setting at nought the provisions of the treaty, and nullifying the declaration of the plenipotentiary, that trade should be carried on and families of merchants reside securely in Canton, as in the other four cities declared open to British commerce.

Sir Hugh Gough immediately expressed his intention of remaining off the factories in the steamer for their protection, and sent off a dispatch to Hong-Kong, to inform the authorities there of the apprehensions entertained of a second outbreak more serious than the first. The detachment which was in consequence got in readiness to proceed to Canton was, however, countermanded through the protest of the pleni-

potentiary, who, foreseeing the evils likely to result from so serious an interference with the local government as the suppression, by an armed force, of disturbances occurring under the guns of their own ramparts, at once expressed his dissent regarding the expediency of the movement, and remonstrated against its being put in force. The steamer was accordingly recalled, and Sir Hugh Gough having returned to Hong-Kong, orders were issued for the sailing of the transport fleet, and the final arrangements made for the disposition of the force which was to garrison the settlement.

On the recommendation of a court of inquiry, the spot selected for the erection of barracks was the promontory of Chuck-chü, on the south side, as being one of the healthiest on the island, the surface of which is generally so mountainous as to afford but little ground available for building purposes. A very good road has been constructed, to the rear of the buildings, 3200 yards in length, and sixteen yards in breadth. The public buildings at present consist of a government house, gaol, and magistracy, a land office, commissariat office, naval victualling store, arsenal, engineer's office, market-place, bat-

teries, fort, and barracks for about 1000 men, to which additions are being made for the accommodation of 800 more.

Lord Saltoun was left in command of the forces in China, (fixing his head-quarters and staff at Hong-Kong,) which consisted of the wreck of the 98th regiment, the left wing of the 55th, right wing of the 41st Madras native infantry, a company of Royal artillery, one of gun lascars, and one of Madras sappers and miners, constituting a force of about 1250 efficient men, and on the 20th December, 1842, the rest of the expeditionary force took its final departure from the shores of China, the commander-in-chief having, in a terse and appropriate general order of the day preceding broken up the troops, with an expression of cordial approbation of their conduct, and of their present high state of efficiency.

SACRED TEMPLES OF FOO-TOO.

POSTSCRIPT.

Circumstances having delayed the publication of the foregoing narrative, I have thought that it would not be uninteresting to the general reader to add a brief summary of the events which have occurred subsequent to the withdrawal of the expeditionary force, to serve as a sequel to the work, which I offer with all its imperfections to the kind indulgence of the public.

In due course of time, Colonel Malcolm returned from England with her Majesty's signature to the treaty of Nanking, and the ratifications were exchanged between Sir Henry Pottinger and the imperial high commissioners, when an entertainment was given, at which the greatest hilarity prevailed, and the English and Chinese functionaries respectively gave each

other specimens of their musical powers in the shape of national and merry-making songs. The scene was very diverting. With infinite labour and ability, Sir Henry Pottinger has carried through the important task that remained upon his hands,—viz., the fixing upon a permanent basis of tariffs of customs, duties at the different ports opened to British commerce, and the terms are particularly favourable to us.

A rather angry correspondence passed between his excellency and the British merchants formerly established at Canton, of which I refrain from making any particular mention, as the differences have been happily accommodated, and perfect harmony restored.

The report of Eliang respecting the Formosa massacre has been made public by the emperor, and is very satisfactory, so far as the degradation of the blood-thirsty governor, Takungah, is announced; he is ordered to repair to Peking, to be there handed over to the board of punishments: all the persons who had received medals or decorations for the part they had taken in the dreadful affair, are ordered to restore them. Thus the emperor has given an early proof of his sincerity and good faith.

A subsidiary treaty has been concluded by Sir Henry Pottinger, giving to other nations the same privileges of trade with the Chinese as those secured to us by the treaty of Nanking. Our commercial relations, under the new consular establishments, are not as yet proceeding in a very satisfactory manner,—the Chinese appearing disposed to resort to their old practices of extortion, which will require very firm resistance. The old Hong merchants at Canton do not like the new arrangements, and come forward tardily. One of their number, the celebrated and wealthy old Howqua, has died, leaving an enormous fortune. The commissioner Lin is also no more; the emperor has paid a high-flown tribute to his memory.

The unhealthiness of our new settlement is now the subject of great anxiety. The Chinese have an apparently insurmountable dread of the effects of its climate; they consider the water pernicious, and will not resort to the island. Among our own people, several have succumbed: the able and enlightened Mr. Morrison, of whom mention has been so frequently made in the pages of this narrative, and who had been appointed Chinese secretary to the government

of the island, together with Captain De Haviland, 55th regiment, and Mr. Foote, deputy-commissary-general, have, I grieve to record, fallen victims. Mr. Gutzlaff has been appointed secretary in Mr. Morrison's stead. This grave subject of climate I must not enter upon; it is engaging the most serious and anxious attention of the authorities, who will no doubt be prepared with a proper and well-digested report to be laid before parliament at the ensuing session.

Reader, I respectfully bid you farewell. I have been relieved from my duties at the settlement by the arrival of Major Aldrich, of the Royal Engineers, who has been specially appointed by her Majesty's government to superintend and carry out all the necessary works and fortifications on the island.

J. O.

Macao,
September, 1843.

T. C. Savill, Printer, 107, St. Martin's Lane.

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